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AND REMARKS,
FROM THE END OF THE WAR, IN 1783,
TO THE
ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT, IN MARCH, 1801.

BY WILLIAM COBBETT.

IN TWELVE VOLUMES.

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DEDICATION.

TO

JOHN REEVES, ESQ.

FOUNDER OF THE LOYAL ASSOCIATION AGAINST
REPUBLICANS AND LEVELLERS.

DEAR SIR,

Pall Mall, May 29, 1801.

THIS, the anniversary of that happy day, which drove rebellion, republicanism, and tyranny from England; which restored the King to the throne, the Prelates to the church, the Nobles to their titles, the People to their liberties, and which brought the Regicides to the gibbet; this auspicious day I have chosen for dedicating to you my humble labours in that cause, of which you have long been the most distinguished and most successful champion. I have selected you, on this occasion, for many reasons, but chiefly, because you are the known enemy of republicans and levellers, because you

DEDICATION.

have defended the Church and the Throne against the encroachments of sectaries and demagogues, and because you have suffered persecution for your loyal efforts. That persecution, which ought never to be forgotten, did, however, produce some circumstances which I remember with pleasure. When violence and cowardice, malice and ingratitude, had combined to ruin your fortune and blast your fame, there was one Englishman, who, like ABDIEL, “ faithful found among the faithless, faithful only he among innumerable false,” had the courage to defend your cause; and, though his eloquence and truth prevailed not with the boisterous host, you had the satisfaction to owe your deliverance to an institution, which sprang not from the *branches*, but from the *trunk* itself, and the *quiet good sense of the People*.

With that respect, which I have ever entertained for you, since I first heard your name pronounced,

I remain,

Dear Sir,

Your most humble

And most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.



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P R E F A C E.

SINCE the Grand Rebellion there has constantly been, in this kingdom, a certain portion of the leaven of republicanism. Sometimes it has remained, for years together, in a dormant state; but whenever it has found materials to mix with, it has never failed to revive, to ferment, and to swell the discontents and the calamities of the country. Of late years it has been enlivened, cherished, and augmented by various means, but by nothing so much as by the success of the American rebellion, and by the long and uninterrupted series of misrepresentations and falsehoods, which have, through every possible channel, been propagated respecting the new Government and rulers of the United States.

Having succeeded in separating the Colonies from the mother-country, the leading Whigs in America very naturally exerted their utmost efforts to persuade the world that their country *was benefited by that separation*; and though this was, by every one, who was a witness of the effects of the change, well known to be false, it nevertheless passed uncontradicted: those persons in America who were disposed to remove the deception, had it not in their power. The Whigs had the exclusive possession of the press, to make use of which, for the purpose of showing the evils which had resulted from the rebellion, would, till within the last seven years, have

cost the life of him who should have had the temerity to persevere in it; besides, the loyalists who had, by various ties, been bound to the soil of the States, had seen themselves formally abandoned (in the peace of Lord Shelburne) by the only power from which they could possibly hope for protection; and, therefore, in the service of that power, there was no reason for them to hazard that property and peace which, in secret and in silence, they were permitted to enjoy. If, in some few instances, indignation, at the shameful falsehoods of the Whigs, burst forth in defiance of reason and of interest, the cruel persecution, which invariably followed these indiscreet ebullitions, soon stifled the feeble voice of loyalty and truth.

During my residence in the United States, few men had a better opportunity of learning the real and undisguised sentiments of the people, and very few ever turned such an opportunity to greater profit; and I solemnly declare, that I never met with a man, in whatever rank or situation of life, who did not regret the separation of the United States from the mother-country. Many men differed widely from me in political maxims; many justified the proceedings of the Rump Congress; many more condemned the conduct of Great Britain; and I have met with several who were loud in their clamours against kingly government, however modified; but I never knew one American who, in his calm and candid moments, did not acknowledge that the country was much happier before the rebellion than it ever had been since. All those who had arrived at the age of maturity previous to the fatal rupture, used to answer my observations on the distracted state of their country by describing its peaceful and happy state thirty years ago; and, on such occasions, it has happened to me, not unfrequently, to hear those, who had carried arms against their King, shift the sin from
their

their own shoulders to those of the pretended patriots of England. But this candour never extended to the press, which, in spite of the inward conviction of the people, was constantly employed in boasting of the happy effects of the separation, and in disguising all the numerous calamities which had arisen therefrom.

The reluctance, which all those, who had been active in the rebellion, must necessarily feel, to see the evils of that rebellion exposed, is quite sufficient to account for the misrepresentations of the American press; and, if to this reluctance we add the interest, which every man of property had, in whatever tended to invite new settlers, and to enhance the value of the funds and the land of the country, we shall not be surprised, that, in spite of party animosities and domestic broils, the system of deception has been conducted with an unanimity and an esprit-de-corps, that would not disgrace a community of monks.

While the press, which is now become the ruler of the opinions of men, was, in America, thus enlisted under the banners of the republicans; in Europe circumstances rendered it not less devoted to their service. France, which on the Continent gave the fashion in sentiment as well as in dress, was compelled to espouse their cause, in justification of her own conduct; and though it was excessively ridiculous to hear her monkeys chatter about giving liberty and happiness to British Colonies, the envious nations of Europe, who all, either openly or secretly, rejoiced at the humiliation of England, listened to them not only with patience, but with pleasure and applause.

In England alone existed the means of detection and exposure: but, here, the reins of Government had passed into the hands of the very men, who had justified the resistance, and who had, in a great measure, become partisans of the Americans. They did,

indeed, set themselves seriously to work to repair the financial and commercial injuries which the rebellion had brought on their country ; but the political injuries they were obliged to leave untouched, or to acknowledge their own errors, an effort of candour never to be expected from a political party. Lord North and his adherents might have done much ; but, as if fate itself had declared in favour of delusion, they formed a connexion, which for ever afterwards sealed up their lips. There were, indeed, still men enough in England who abhorred the American rebellion, and who were able and willing to expose its mischievous and disgraceful consequences. It was too late ; the torrent of error was become irresistible ; the floodgates were burst open, and the inundation ensued. From that time rebellion ceased to be a crime, and loyalty to be a virtue. There is, in ninety-nine hundredths of mankind, a propensity to approve of whatever is crowned with success ; hence, many of those, who, while the issue of the contest was doubtful, expressed a becoming detestation of the conduct of America, have, since the close of the war, appeared amongst the forwardest to congratulate her on the event, and to eulogize those who were, and who still are, branded with the name of rebels, in the resolutions of the Parliament, and the proclamations of the King.

While this rare combination of circumstances conspired against truth and monarchical government, the British press, than which nothing ever was, or ever can be, more servile, kept an exact pace with the delusion of the nation, till, at last, it is become a matter of course for us to read of the American rebellion (which has been softened into *revolution*), not only as a justifiable but a meritorious act, which has led to the formation of a Government the most perfect in the world, conducted by men the most virtuous, and rendering the country the most prosperous,
and

and the people the most happy in the universe. I speak not of that part of the press which is under the controul of sectaries and republicans; from them such sentiments are ever to be expected: I allude to publications which profess great loyalty, and in which America is said to have "shaken off the yoke," to have "gained her freedom," to have "successfully resisted *unlawful controul*," to have "*emancipated herself*," and to have "taken her place amongst the family of independent nations, of which she is the *happiest* sister, and to which she is a bright *example*." Nay, a modern compiler, a Clergyman of the church of England, and Fellow too of St. Mary Magdalen College, Oxford, to be plain, the REVEREND ARTHUR HOMER, D. D. has, in his Proposals for publishing a Bibliotheca Universalis Americana, thought proper to represent GENERAL WASHINGTON, the man who, while he bore a commission under his and Dr. HOMER's Sovereign, was the very first in the Colony of Virginia to subscribe to a fund for raising troops to fight against that Sovereign; the man who afterwards commanded the rebel army, who, in cold blood, and contrary to the laws of war, executed the gallant ANDRE; the man, in short, whose fame rests on his having been the principal instrument in cutting off an empire from the crown of Britain; this is the man whom the REVEREND ARTHUR HOMER has thought proper to represent as "*the GREATEST and MOST VIRTUOUS character that the New World has ever produced*;" and the Reverend Gentleman has the modesty to presume, that in this his opinion, "*every GOOD MAN and every LOYAL SUBJECT of this country will at present concur*." The death of "*the greatest and most virtuous character that the New World has ever produced*," induced Dr. HOMER to alter his proposals, in a new edition of which he proposes to dedicate his book to the BISHOP OF LANDAFF. It would seem, that the New

World had not, in his opinion, produced a second character quite worthy of the honour, though, in bestowing it on my LORD of LANDAFF, the Reverend Gentleman, apparently sensible that some of the “worthy compeers” of Washington might think themselves slighted, takes an opportunity of paying them all a very handsome compliment. While the *teachers* of the nation openly promulgate opinions like these, it is both foolish and unjust to complain of the progress of disloyalty. If DOCTOR HOMER were desirous to find a native of the New World worthy of the “mark of respect” which he had to bestow, one would have thought that BISHOP INGLIS, COUNT RUMFORD, GENERAL DE LANCY, JUDGE LUDLOW, or some other out of the long list of brave and learned men, who abandoned their property and ventured their lives for their King, might have been preferred to a man, who, however his deeds may now be varnished over, will ever stand as a *traitor* on the records of England.

The praises of the American Government form a never-ending subject for almost every political publication that issues from the British press. When the daring rebel PAINE insulted the nation with his eulogiums on the governments of France and America, and held forth his triumphant comparison between them and the Government of England, as far as related to that of France, he met with contradiction and exposure; but, as to that of America, which furnished much the most dangerous example, his falsehoods were suffered to pass as incontrovertible facts: even he, who was emphatically styled *the father of lies*, was presumed to speak truth, when he spoke in favour of America. When his Rights of Man appeared in the United States, even the Whigs themselves blushed at his impudence; yet did the cowardly press of Great Britain, influenced partly by the sordid spirit of commerce, and partly by

the republican principles of its conductors, silently acquiesce in the correctness of his statements.

To England, the consequences of this system of deception have been such as might have been expected. The people, as far as the nefarious influence of the press, and the still more nefarious influence of the sectarian pulpit, have reached, are strongly tinged with republicanism. They have lost much of the respect which they formerly entertained for the Royal authority, and much of the abhorrence which they ought always to have preserved of rebellion against it. And where is the wonder? When the people see such men as the EARL of BUCHAN and the MARQUIS of LANSDOWNE send across the Atlantic for the portrait of a notorious rebel, and exhibit it as the most precious piece in their cabinets; when the people hear a Reverend Doctor of the Church describe that rebel as the “greatest and *most virtuous* character that the New World has ever produced;” when they hear SIR JOHN SINCLAIR, with audacity unparalleled, call upon them not only to admire this rebel, but to contribute towards a fund for the raising of a monument to his memory, even in the dominions of their Sovereign, against whom he had rebelled; when they hear and see these things, who can blame them for thinking lightly of rebellion? Who can blame them for rebelling themselves? And if it be true, that the most perfect Government, administered by men the most wise and most virtuous, and producing the greatest possible degree of prosperity and happiness, has resulted from a rebellion, and a rebellion too against GEORGE THE THIRD, what is the natural, the obvious, the inevitable conclusion?

This question I put to a gentleman in England, to whom I wrote in the year 1798. I pointed out to him the necessity, not only of contradicting the captivating falsehoods, which were propagated with re-

spect to America, but of appealing to the experience of that country for evidences against republican government, asserting, what I now repeat upon more perfect conviction, that the disaffection in the British dominions, particularly in Ireland, was chiefly to be ascribed to the deception with respect to America, and that it was in vain to hope for a radical cure, till that deception was removed. I added, that I was aware of the arduousness of the undertaking; but that, if it pleased God to spare my life, I was resolved to attempt it.

This resolution I have now fulfilled. During a residence in the United States of eight years, I wrote much upon the passing events, and diligently collected whatever appeared to me calculated to exhibit the country, the government, and the people, in their true colours. These writings and selections I now submit to the world.

The arrangement which I have adopted, appeared to be the only one of which the materials would admit. I have begun with the pamphlets, and placed them according to their dates, down to the time when Porcupine's Gazette began. But as these pamphlets, in general, are confined each to a single subject, the work, so far, would have given but a very imperfect idea of the politics of the whole time during which it was written. To supply this defect, I have inserted between each pamphlet, such matter as forms an historical sketch of the intermediate space, making the conclusion of each sketch a sort of introduction to the succeeding pamphlet. These additions not only render the chain of events entire, but also serve as a key to the pamphlets themselves, many parts of which, without some such aid, must appear unintelligible to those who are not thoroughly acquainted with all the characters introduced, and who have not a perfect recollection of all the circumstances amidst which each pamphlet was first brought forward

forward to the public. When I arrive at the epoch at which the Gazette commenced, I begin to make selections therefrom; rectifying, as I proceed, the errors which were committed through haste or want of correct information.

In general I have followed the chronological order; but such articles as I found divided, I have brought under one head; and whatever I thought necessary to preserve of the proceedings of Congress, I have placed together under the date of the close of each session respectively.

In order to render the work as complete and satisfactory as possible, I have prefixed to the first volume a Summary View of the Politics of the United States, from the end of the American war, to the time when I began to write. This retrospect will enable the reader to trace back to their efficient causes, that absurd and unnatural partiality for France, that enthusiasm in her unjust and impious cause, and all those novel, wild, and dangerous notions, to eradicate which, I so long, and, notwithstanding appearances, so successfully laboured. To the close of the work also, I have made considerable additions. My last American publication came down no later than April, 1800; but I have now added selections and remarks to complete the series up to March, 1801.

So large and so miscellaneous a work certainly requires all the aid that mere editorship can afford. Each volume bears the date of the month and the year in the running title at the top of the page. Besides this, every volume has a table of its contents; the first volume contains a general table, and the last volume a general and copious Index.

After all, however, it must be confessed, that I present to the world neither a history, nor a magazine, nor a journal; but something partaking of the nature of them all; a mass of matter, left to be separated and digested in the mind of the reader. It

will, indeed, require a reasonable stock of patience to go through the twelve volumes; but if any one should happen to have perseverance enough to succeed in the undertaking, I venture to assert, that he will derive therefrom more information respecting the customs, the manners, the morals, the religion, and the politics of America, than from all the histories and travels that have ever yet been published. There is no branch of republican government, whether legislative or executive, civil or military; no right or privilege of the poor sovereign people; no bauble with which he is amused, no democratic trick by which he is deceived; in short, there are none of those means by which liberty contrives to rob a people of their freedom, which are not fully explained and exposed in the facts that I have recorded. I have given a delineation, or rather have furnished the materials where-with the reader will be able to delineate, upwards of one thousand public characters, and not a small number of private ones. In recording these facts, I have not, indeed, been under the mollifying influence of modern candour; but I have, in no one instance, knowingly and seriously, given falsehood for truth; and, though the reader will sometimes find me severe, frequently very rough, and more frequently very dull, he will never find me irreligious, factious, or servile.

The republicans, and the blind and obstinate advocates for American liberty, will say that I am partial and vindictive; but, I protest with the solemnity and sincerity due to an oath, that I have not set down "aught in malice;" and that I harbour not the least resentment towards America or her inhabitants in general. I wish them all possible prosperity and happiness; but I also wish to convince the world, that their prosperity and happiness have not been augmented by a rebellion, though a successful one, against the mildest, the most just, and most virtuous of Sovereigns.

• If I have given the name of *rebellion* to that which others have called a *revolution*, it has neither been from a desire to see those concerned in it suffer for the offence, nor to keep alive any degree of hatred against them on account thereof; it has been dictated by a sense of propriety and of justice: and I am fully persuaded, that till the people of America themselves are brought to look upon their revolt as a rebellion, their own Government will never acquire stability. I have, indeed, been most unjustly and ungratefully treated by some persons in the United States; but the kindness and generosity which I have received from others, have entirely effaced this injustice and ingratitude from my mind. I have spent my best days in America; I have contracted friendships there, which never can cease but with my life; and were I compelled to make a choice between my friends in England, and my friends in America, I have no hesitation in saying, that, with a very few exceptions, I should prefer the latter. But private feelings ought to have no influence over a man's public conduct; I am called upon, on this occasion, to speak the truth, or to hold my tongue. In speaking of the characters and conduct of the Whigs, I must always be understood as making numerous exceptions. The same caution will apply to my description of every class of persons; and I wish to impress strongly on the mind of the reader, that from my account of individuals or bodies of men, he must never draw a conclusion unfavourable to the people at large, who, though they have some faults peculiar to themselves, have also some virtues possessed, to the same extent, by no other nation; in short, I wish unequivocally to declare, what I have frequently declared before, that, with the exception of those vices which are the immediate effect of their Government, the Americans yield, in no respect whatever, to any people in the world.

With

With equal solemnity I declare, as to myself, that I have never acted, in any instance, under the influence, direct or indirect, of his Majesty's Ministers; that I never have received at their hands, or at the hands of any other person whatever, any reward for any thing I have ever written. I hope, indeed, that both the late and the present Ministry have *approved* of my humble efforts in the cause of our King and country, which is also the cause of every good man in every country in the world; but I am very far from wishing for any pecuniary mark of their approbation, which, were they to offer it, I would not receive.

Pall Mall,
29th May, 1801.

W. COBBETT.

GENERAL CONTENTS.

VOL. I.

1. *A SUMMARY View of the Politics of the United States from the Close of the War to the Year 1794.*
2. *Addressess to Dr. Priestley.*
3. *Observations on Priestley's Emigration.*
4. *The Story of a Farmer's Bull.*
5. *Account of the Insurrection in the Western Counties of Pennsylvania, in 1794.*
6. *Dispute between America and Great Britain.*

VOL. II.

1. *A Bone to Gnaw for the Democrats, Part I.*
2. *A Kick for a Bite.*
3. *A Bone to Gnaw for the Democrats, Part II.*
4. *A Summary of the Proceedings of Congress, during the Session which commenced on the 4th of November, 1794.*
5. *Popular Proceedings relative to the British Treaty, previous to its Ratification.*
6. *The British Treaty.*
7. *Popular Proceedings relative to the British Treaty, after the Ratification.*
8. *A little Plain English, addressed to the People of the United States, on the Treaty, and on the Conduct of the President relative thereto, in Answer to the "Letters of Franklin."*

9. *An Analysis of Randolph's Vindication.*
10. *A New Year's Gift for the Democrats; or, Observations on a Pamphlet, entitled, "A Vindication of Randolph's Resignation".*

VOL. III.

1. *The Political Censor, No. I.; or a Review of Political Occurrences relative to the United States of America.*
2. *The Bloody Buoy, thrown out as a Warning to the political Pilots of all Nations; or, a faithful Relation of a Multitude of Acts of Barbarity, such as the Eye never witnessed, the Tongue expressed, or the Imagination conceived, until the Commencement of the French Revolution. To which is added, an instructive Essay, tracing these dreadful Effects to their real Causes.*
3. *Political Censor, No. II.*
4. *Political Censor, No. III.*
5. *Political Censor, No. IV.*

VOL. IV.

1. *The Scare-Crow:—Being an infamous Letter, sent to Mr. John Oldden, threatening Destruction to his House, and Violence to the Person of his Tenant, William Cobbett; with Remarks on the same.*
2. *The Life and Adventures of Peter Porcupine, with a full and fair Account of all his authoring Transactions: Being a sure and infallible Guide for all enterprising young Men who wish to make a Fortune by writing Pamphlets.*

3. *Political Censor, No. V.*
4. *The Diplomatic Blunderbuss, containing Adet's Notes to the Secretary of State ; as also his Cockade Proclamation.*
5. *Political Censor, No. VI.*
6. *Political Censor, No. VII.*
7. *Political Censor, No. VIII.*
8. *A Brief Statement of the Injuries and Insults received from France.*
9. *Washington's retiring from the Presidency.*

VOL. V.

Selections from Porcupine's Gazette, from the Beginning of March, to the End of May, 1797.

VOL. VI.

Selections from Porcupine's Gazette, from the Beginning of June, to the 15th of August, 1797.

VOL. VII.

1. *Selections from Porcupine's Gazette, from the 16th of August, to the End of November, 1797.*
2. *The Republican Judge : or, The American Liberty of the Press, as exhibited, explained, and exposed, in the base and partial Prosecution of William Cobbett, for a pretended Libel against the King of Spain and his Ambassador, before the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. With an Address to the People of England.*
3. *Selections from Porcupine's Gazette, for the Month of December, 1797.*

VOL.

VOL. VIII.

1. *Selections from Porcupine's Gazette, from the Beginning of January, to the End of May, 1798.*
2. *Detection of a Conspiracy, formed by the United Irishmen, with an evident Intention of aiding the Tyrants of France in subverting the Government of the United States of America.*
3. *Selections from Porcupine's Gazette, for the Month of June, 1798.*
4. *The Cannibal's Progress: or the dreadful Horrors of French Invasion, as displayed by the republican Officers and Soldiers, in their Perfidy, Rapacity, Ferociousness, and Brutality, exercised towards the innocent Inhabitants of Germany.*
5. *Authentic History of the Depredations committed on the Commerce of the United States.*
6. *Selections from Porcupine's Gazette, for the Month of June, 1798.*

VOL. IX.

1. *Selections from Porcupine's Gazette, for the Month of July, 1798.*
2. *The Impeachment of Senator Blount.*
3. *Selections from Porcupine's Gazette, for August and September, 1798.*
- ✓ 4. *J. H. Stone's Letters to Dr. Priestley.*
- ✓ 5. *Remarks on Dr. Priestley's Explanation respecting the Letters of Stone.*
6. *Selections from Porcupine's Gazette, for October, 1798.*
7. *Mis-*

7. *Miscellaneous Anecdotes of various Dates.*
8. *Priestley's Poor Emigrants.*
9. *Postscript, containing an Address of the Welsh People residing in Cambria, in the State of Pennsylvania, to their Brethren in Wales.*

VOL. X.

1. *Selections from Porcupine's Gazette, from November, 1798, to June, 1799, inclusive.*
2. *Dr. Morse's Exposure of French Intrigue in the United States.*
3. *Galloway's Exposure of Howe.*
4. *The Trial of Republicanism.*

VOL. XI.

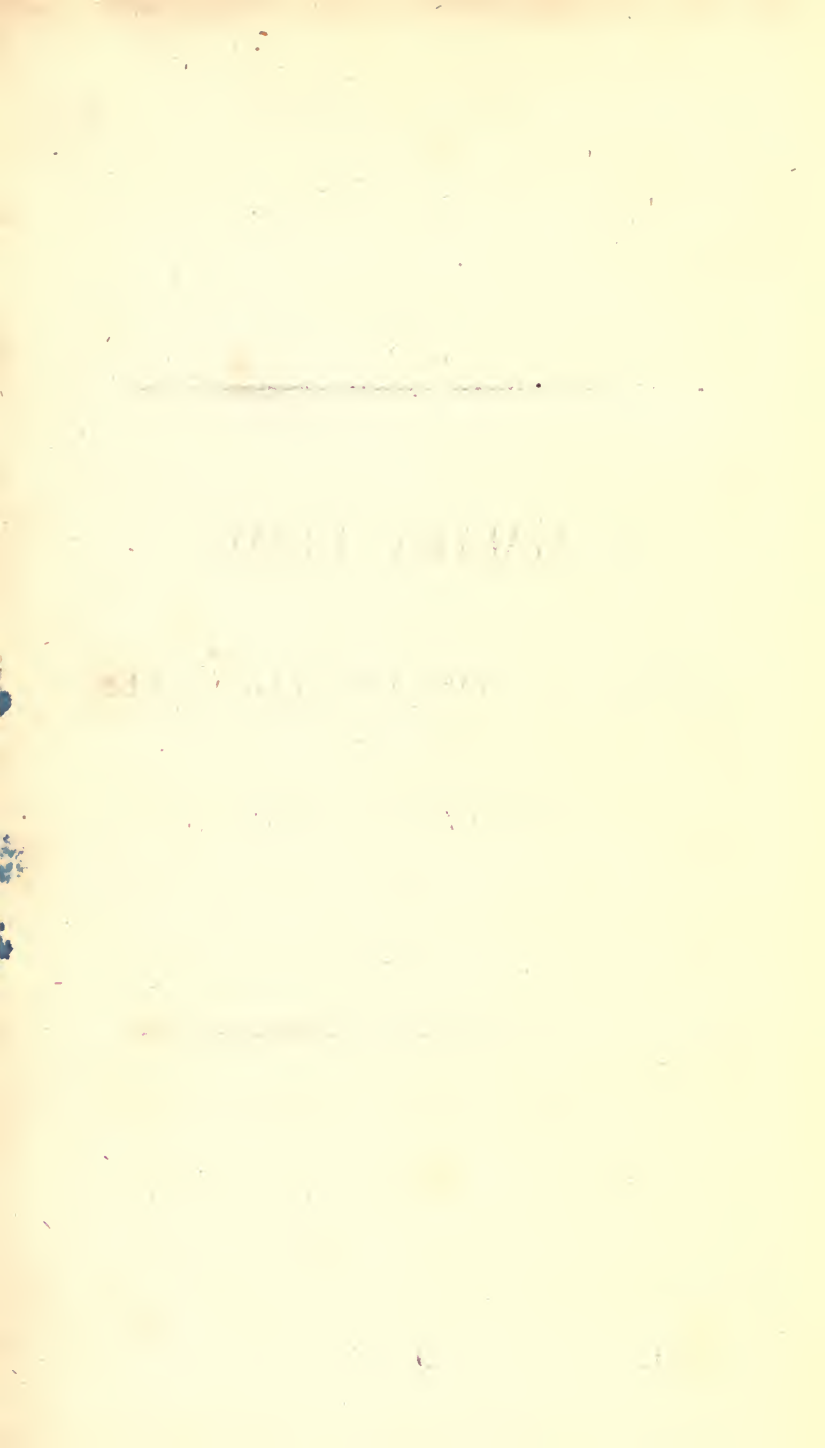
1. *Selections from Porcupine's Gazette, from July, 1799, to January, 1800.*
2. *A concise and comprehensive History of Prince Suwarrow's Campaign in Italy, in the Year 1799.*
3. *The American Rush-Light (No. I.), by the help of which wayward and disaffected Britons may see a complete Specimen of the Baseness, Dishonesty, Ingratitude, and Perfidy of Republicans, and of the Profligacy, Injustice, and Tyranny of republican Governments.*
4. *The American Rush-Light, No. II.*
5. *The American Rush-Light, No. III.*
6. *The American Rush-Light, No. IV.*
7. *The American Rush-Light, No. V.*

VOL.

VOL. XII.

1. *Historical Documents and Remarks, from December, 1799, to March, 1801.*
2. *Trial of Cooper.*
3. *Emigration Society.*
4. *Washington's Death.*
5. *Proceedings in Congress during the Session which began December, 1799.*
6. *Board of Commissioners.*
7. *Defence of the Quakers of Pennsylvania.*
8. *Farewell Advertisment.*
9. *Prison Eclogue.*
10. *Republican Morality.*
11. *Jefferson's Election.*
12. *Adams's Public Conduct.*
13. *Jefferson's Election.*
14. *Jefferson's Character.*
15. *Convention between America and France.*
16. *Proceedings in Congress during the Session which ended in March, 1801.*

A
SUMMARY VIEW
OF THE
POLITICS OF THE UNITED STATES,
FROM THE
CLOSE OF THE WAR
TO THE
YEAR 1794.



A

SUMMARY VIEW

OF THE

POLITICS OF THE UNITED STATES,

Ec. Ec.

THE Congress, which began, and conducted to its close, that rebellion which severed the thirteen flourishing and favoured colonies of America from the kingdom of Great Britain, was composed of men, who, in point of craftiness, surpassed the Roundheads of England, and in point of enterprise and perseverance very far outstripped the Jacobins of France *. If ever history, freed from the shackles

* I here give a list of the members who composed the Congress, at the time when the Declaration of Independence was issued, and who signed that declaration, which was drawn up by *Jefferson*.

John Hancock, President.

New-Hampshire.

{ Josiah Bartlett,
William Whipple,
Matthew Thornton.

Massachusetts Bay.

{ Samuel Adams,
John Adams,
Robert Treat Paine,
Elbridge Gerry.

D 2

Rhode



shackles which they and their English abettors have imposed on her, should record their conduct in the language of truth, she will tell the selfish motives

Rhode Island.

{ Stephen Hopkins,
William Ellery.

Connecticut.

{ Roger Sherman,
Samuel Huntington,
William Williams,
Oliver Wolcott.

New-York.

{ William Floyd,
Philip Livingston,
Francis Lewis,
Lewis Morris.

New-Jersey.

{ Richard Stockton,
John Witherspoon,
Francis Hopkinson,
John Hart,
Abraham Clark.

Pennsylvania.

{ Robert Morris,
Benjamin Rush,
Benjamin Franklin,
John Morton,
George Clymer,
James Smith,
George Taylor,
James Wilson,
George Ross.

Delaware.

{ Cæsar Rodney,
George Read.

Maryland.

{ Samuel Chase,
William Paca,
Thomas Stone,
Charles Carroll, of Carrollton.

Virginia.

{ George Wythe,
Richard Henry Lee,
Thomas Jefferson,
Benjamin Harrison,
Thomas Nelson, jun.
Francis Lightfoot Lee,
Carter Braxton.

North Carolina.

{ William Hooper,
Joseph Hewes,
John Penn—no relation to the
Penns of Pennsylvania.

THOMAS

tives by which they were stimulated to seduce a loyal people from their allegiance to the most just and most merciful of Kings; she will detect the fallacy of their pretensions; she will expose their close-veiled hypocrisy and ambition; and their measures of hostility and persecution she will write in letters of blood. But this, perhaps, is hardly to be hoped for, till time has worn away not only the principal actors, on both sides of the ocean, but the principles also which they broached and maintained in defence of their conduct. In the mean time, however, it is necessary to show the consequences that have resulted to the Americans, from the final triumph of those who taught them to raise their arms against the authority of that Sovereign whom God had placed over them, and commanded them to obey.

A correct opinion of these consequences will be easily formed from a perusal of the facts, which are so thickly sown through the following volumes; but to render the series complete, it will be necessary to take a view of the most prominent political occurrences in the United States, from the close of the rebellion to the year 1794.

The definitive Treaty of Peace, by which his Britannic Majesty granted independence to the Thirteen United States, was signed in 1783, and was celebrated with every demonstration of joy, in the month

THOMAS M'KEAN, who was one of the delegates of Delaware, has since publicly declared, that he was *absent* when this paper was signed, but that he gave it his hearty approbation, and therefore claimed equal *honour* with those who were so happy as to be present.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, who was one of the delegates from Virginia, was with the army. It would be very unjust, however, to withhold his share of the *honour*. Those of his admirers in England, who are too modest, or too *timid*, openly to applaud rebellion, affect to believe that Washington was *inveigled* into the measure of Independence, of which he *secretly disapproved*. All his *American friends* represent this as an *atrocious calumny*!

of November, in that year. But it was soon perceived that this event, so long looked forward to by the people, was far from realizing their wishes and expectations. They had gained independence, but they had lost their Government, with its chief blessings, domestic quiet, security, and freedom. A rebellion, which they had begun with the cry of "*Liberty and Property*," had ended with depriving them of both.

The Congress, as it then stood, was a machine admirably contrived for the destroying of subordination, and the pillaging of property, but totally inadequate to the task of re-establishing the former, or securing the latter. During the war it rolled on, not only uninterrupted by obstacles, but aided by the common danger of its partisans, and by the numerous local "*Committees of Safety*," which were formed all over the country, and which most zealously served it, in the double capacity of pioneers and executioners. The war once ended, and the object of that war obtained; the danger having ceased, and the Committees of Safety having been dissolved, the Congress became an inefficient body; and each State having carefully retained its independent sovereignty, looked to its particular regulations, and its separate interests, which we often, not to say always, opposed to the regulations and the interests of all the other States.

A proof of this total inefficiency of the old Congress was furnished in the conduct of the several States with respect to the execution of the treaty of peace. The delegated authority of the Congress extended over the State Governments no farther than to the issuing of "*recommendations* in the form of laws." Accordingly the treaty stipulated thus:

" Art. 4. It is agreed that the creditors on either side shall meet with no lawful impediment to the
" recovery

“ recovery of the full value, in sterling money, of
“ all bona fide debts heretofore contracted.

“ Art. 5. It is agreed that Congress shall *earnestly*
“ *recommend* it to the Legislatures of the respective
“ States, to provide for the restitution of all estates,
“ rights, and properties, which have been confiscated,
“ belonging to real British subjects—and also of
“ the estates, rights, and properties of persons resi-
“ dent in districts in the possession of his Majesty’s
“ arms, and who have not borne arms against the
“ United States ; and that persons of any other de-
“ scription shall have free liberty to go to any part or
“ parts of the Thirteen United States, and therein
“ to remain twelve months unmolested in their en-
“ deavours to obtain the restitution of such of their
“ estates, rights, and properties, as may have been
“ confiscated ; and that Congress shall *earnestly re-*
“ *commend* to the several States a reconsideration and
“ revision of all acts or laws regarding the premises,
“ so as to render the said laws or acts perfectly con-
“ sistent, not only with justice and equity, but with
“ that spirit of conciliation, which on the return of
“ the blessings of peace should universally prevail :
“ and that Congress should *earnestly recommend* to
“ the several States, that the estates, rights, and
“ properties to such last-mentioned persons shall be
“ restored to them, they refunding to any persons
“ who may be now in possession, the bona fide
“ price (where any has been given) which such per-
“ sons may have paid on purchasing any of the said
“ lands, rights, or properties, since the confisca-
“ tion.

“ And it is agreed that all persons who have any
“ interest in confiscated lands, either by debts, mar-
“ riage settlements, or otherwise, shall meet with no
“ lawful impediment in the prosecution of their just
“ rights.

“ Art. 6. That there shall be no future confiscations made, nor any prosecutions commenced against any person or persons for or by reason of the part which he or they may have taken in the present war; and that no person shall on that account suffer any future loss or damage, either in his person, liberty, or property; and that those who may be in confinement on such charges, at the time of the ratification of the treaty in America, shall be immediately set at liberty, and the prosecutions so commenced be discontinued.”

On the part of the British Government, the stipulation of the *fourth* article was extremely unwise. That Government must have known nothing at all of the powers of the Congress, or of the disposition of the State Governments, if it did not anticipate the manifold evils that have resulted from this stipulation. But how could the British Government imagine that the Congress had authority to engage *positively* in one article, and only *conditionally* in another? Several of the States had interposed “*lawful impediments*” to the recovery of debts contracted before the war, with the loyal subjects of his Majesty. This was well known, and it ought also to have been known, that the Congress had no power to remove those impediments, any more than it had to remove the impediments to the recovery of real property. The truth is, that this stipulation was occasioned by the just remonstrances of the British merchants, whose iniquitous debtors had, under the sanction of the no less iniquitous State laws, withheld payment, and who had extorted from LORD SHELBURNE a promise, that this payment should be positively provided for by the treaty. But one might have expected to find, in a Statesman, in a Prime Minister of Great Britain, sagacity enough to perceive, that the fulfilment of such a promise was to lay the foundation for endless disputes and animosity.

This

This one stipulation has done more injury to the political interests of Great Britain, with regard to America, than all the other causes of misunderstanding put together. It was, and yet is (in 1801), the apple of discord between the two countries, and such it will remain till some minister shall have the good sense and resolution to put an end to its effects by a clear, fair, and final settlement. The British creditors should be paid; but, for the sake of two millions sterling, Great Britain and the United States of America should not be kept in a state of continual disagreement and hatred*.

The Congress issued its *recommendations*, which were observed, or not observed, just as the respective States found their interest in the observance, or in the non-observance. In the State of New-York, for instance, it was not without great difficulty that the Legislature was prevented from setting aside every stipulation in favour of Great Britain. Acts

* It is notorious, that *one of the principal objects* of the instigators of, and leading actors in, the rebellion, was *to wipe off the debts which they owed to the mother-country*. How foolish was it, then, to suppose that they would pay those debts, after they had succeeded in that rebellion! The treaty, like most of our other treaties, exhibits a strange mixture of meanness and prodigality: with one hand we extort a promissory note for a couple of millions, and with the other we throw away thirteen populous and flourishing Colonies. In the treaty of 1794, instead of recovering this false step, we have gone a step further in folly. Still hankering after the two paltry millions, we have revived the old score, and, along with it, all the animosity of the rebel war; we have made those our decided enemies, who would have been neutral, at least, with respect to us; we have fostered every prejudice against England, and every disposition favourable to France. When the treaty of 1794 arrived in America, men of sense lifted their hands and eyes at our folly. A member of Congress, speaking to me of the 6th article, said, that, if Robespierre had had to dictate, he could not have dictated any thing better calculated to serve the cause of France. See in vol. xii. an account of the proceedings of the Board of Commissioners.

were proposed to be passed for *banishing* one part, and *disfranchising* another part of those persons for whose *tranquillity* and *liberty* Great Britain had made such immense sacrifices. An extract from a pamphlet of MR. HAMILTON, who wrote under the name of PHOCION, and who made a noble stand against the unjust, cruel, and cowardly measures of the Whigs, will give the reader some idea of the conduct and the intentions of those implacable persecutors of loyalty.

“ If there had been no treaty in the way, the Legislature might, by *name*, have attainted particular persons of high treason for crimes committed during the war ; but independent of the treaty it could not, and cannot without tyranny, disfranchise or punish whole classes of citizens by general descriptions, without trial and conviction of offences known by laws previously established, declaring the offence, and prescribing the penalty.

“ Let the people beware of bad counsellors.—However a few designing men may rise in consequence, and advance their private interests by such expedients, the people at large are sure to be the losers in the event, whenever they suffer a departure from the rules of general and equal justice, or from the true principles of universal liberty.

“ These men not only overleap the barriers of the Constitution without remorse, but they advise us to become the scorn of nations, by violating the solemn engagements of the United States. They endeavour to mould the treaty with Great Britain, into such form as pleases them, and to make it mean any thing or nothing, as suits their views.—They tell us, that all the stipulations with respect to the Tories are merely that Congress will recommend, and the States may comply, or not, as they please.

“ But let any man of sense and candour read the treaty, and it will speak for itself. The fifth article
is

is indeed recommendatory ; but the sixth is as positive as words can make it : “ *There shall be no future* “ confiscations made, nor prosecutions commenced “ against any person or persons, for or by reason of “ the part which he or they may have taken in the “ present war, and no person shall on that account “ suffer any future loss or damage, either in his person, liberty, or property.”

“ As to the restoration of confiscated property, which is the subject of the fifth article, the States may restore, or not, as they think proper, because Congress engage only to recommend ; but there is not a word about recommendation in the sixth article.

“ The sound and ingenuous construction of the two articles taken collectively, is this : that where the property of any persons, other than those who have been in arms against the United States, had been actually confiscated, and themselves proscribed, there Congress are to recommend a restoration of estates, rights, and properties ; and with respect to those who had been in arms, they are to recommend permission for them to remain a twelvemonth in the country, to solicit a like restoration : but with respect to all those who were not in this situation, and who had not already been the objects of confiscation and banishment, they were to be absolutely secured from all future injury to person, liberty, or property.

“ To say that this exemption from positive injury, does not imply a right to live among us as citizens, is a pitiful sophistry : it is to say that the banishment of a person from his country, connexions, and resources (one of the greatest punishments that can befall a man), is no punishment at all.

“ The meaning of the word *liberty* has been contested. Its true sense must be the enjoyment of the common privileges of subjects under the same Government. There is no middle line of just construction between this sense and a mere exemption from

personal imprisonment ! If the last were adopted, the stipulation would become nugatory ; and, by depriving those who are the subjects of it of the protection of Government, it would amount to a virtual confiscation and banishment ; for they could not have the benefit of the laws against those who should be aggressors.

“ Should it be said that they may receive protection without being admitted to a full enjoyment of the privileges of citizens ; this must be either a matter of right under the treaty, or matter of grace in the Government. If the latter, the Government may refuse it, and then the objection presents itself, that the treaty would by this construction be virtually defeated ; if matter of right, then it follows that more is intended by the word liberty, than a mere exemption from imprisonment, and where shall the line be drawn—not a capricious and arbitrary line, but one warranted by rational and legal construction ?

“ There is a very simple and conclusive point of view in which this subject may be placed. No citizen can be deprived of any right which the citizens in general are entitled to, unless forfeited by some offence. It has been seen that the regular and constitutional mode of ascertaining whether this forfeiture has been incurred, is by legal process, trial, and conviction. This *ex vi termini* supposes prosecution. Now, consistent with the treaty, there can be no future prosecution for any thing done on account of the war. Can we then do by act of Legislature, what the treaty disables us from doing by due course of law ? This would be to imitate the Roman General, who having promised Antiochus to restore half his vessels, caused them to be sawed in two before their delivery ; or the Plataeæ, who having promised the Thebans to restore their prisoners, had them first put to death, and returned them dead.

“ Such

“ Such fraudulent subterfuges are justly considered more odious than an open and avowed violation of treaty.

“ The *uti possidetis*, each party to hold what it possesses, is the point from which nations set out in framing a treaty of peace ; if one side gives up a part of its acquisitions, the other side renders an equivalent in some other way. What is the equivalent given to Great Britain for all the important concessions she has made ? She has given up the capital of this State, and its large dependencies. She is to surrender our immensely valuable posts on the frontier, and to yield to us a vast tract of western territory, with one half of the lakes, by which we shall command almost the whole fur trade ; she renounces to us her claim to the navigation of the Mississippi, and admits us a share in the fisheries, even on better terms than we formerly enjoyed it. As she was in possession by right of war of all these objects, whatever may have been our original pretensions to them, they are by the laws of nations to be considered as so much given up on her part ; and what do we give in return ? We stipulate that there shall be no future injury to her adherents among us. *How insignificant the equivalent in comparison with the acquisition* * ! A man of sense would be ashamed to compare them : a man of honesty, not intoxicated with passion, would blush to lift a question of the obligation to observe the stipulation on our part.

“ Suppose Great Britain should be induced to refuse a further compliance with the treaty, in consequence of a breach of it on our part, what situation should we be in ? Can we renew the war to compel a compliance ? *We know, and all the world knows, it*

* The English reader should pay great attention to passages like this.

is out of our power. Will those who have heretofore assisted us, take our part? Their affairs require peace as well as ours, and they will not think themselves bound to undertake an unjust war, to regain to us rights which we have forfeited by a childish levity, and a wanton contempt of public faith *."

Notwithstanding,

* It is, indeed, very true, that it was out of the power of America and her allies, to renew the contest; and it is not less true, that it was out of their power to have *continued the contest*. At the very moment when GENERAL CONWAY'S [a General indeed!] motion passed the House of Commons; at the very moment when his Majesty was thus compelled to act upon the *defensive* against his rebel subjects; at that moment, the army which lay at New-York, placed under proper commanders, and two millions of money, in honest hands, would have re-established his authority from New-Hampshire to Georgia.

Under the conviction of these truths, we angrily ask, *why was peace made on such terms?* It was unaccountable at the time; but, latterly, facts have leaked out, that, by little and little, explain the mystery. DOCTOR PRIESTLEY, in the summer of 1799, published ten letters to his neighbours, the inhabitants of Northumberland, in the State of Pennsylvania. These Letters, which MR. JOHNSON, of St. Paul's Churchyard, has taken good care *not* to republish, contain many precious confessions, amongst which is the following, which certainly throws great light on a very dark transaction:

"From the commencement of the American war I wished for the independence of this country, being firmly persuaded that it would be for the real advantage of England, as well as of these States; and this is now, I believe, almost universally acknowledged to be the case. I am equally well persuaded that it would be for the benefit of the people of England (*I do not say for the glory of the Monarch*) to have nothing to do with the dominion of the East or the West Indies. I once mentioned this opinion to Sir George Saville, adding, that it would have been much better for England never to have had the possession of Gibraltar, and that it would be good policy to give it up. He said that he had often thought so too, but that the opinion was so unpopular that he had not dared to avow it.

"The late Lord Chatham was fond of foreign possessions. He was much against granting absolute independence to America, which he said was the fairest jewel in the crown of the British Monarch; and his opinion had for some time great weight with
" the

Notwithstanding, however, that the Legislature of New-York was prevented, by exertions like those

“ the Marquis of LANSDOWN, then LORD SHELBURNE. On this
 “ DR. PRICE, who thought as I did on the subject, agreed with
 “ me to write our thoughts separately on the subject, and present
 “ them to his Lordship. We did so, and some time after he told
 “ me that he had shown my paper to Lord Chatham, but that
 “ he was much offended at it. *At the conclusion of the war, how-*
 “ *ever, the Marquis made no difficulty of granting what he thought*
 “ *not only necessary, but advantageous to his country, of which*
 “ *he was then Prime Minister.* Had he continued so to this day,
 “ his liberal and enlightened policy would have saved England,
 “ and all Europe, the horrors of the present most ruinous and im-
 “ politic war.”

Letter V. p. 25.

Here we have a peep behind the curtain. We see the wires, and observe their motion. The famous patriot Whig, Sir GEORGE SAVILLE, is here seen in a state of perfect nudity, and the influence of the two Sectarian Priests is fully exposed. Had the Doctor confined himself to the independence of the United States, commercial avarice and blindness might have joined in his opinion; but, by making his principle general, by applying it to *the East and West Indies*, he has, I imagine, deprived himself of all hope of approbation, even from the city of London, whose regard for the “glory of the Monarch” is not much greater than his own.—The Doctor and his friends, from lopping off the *East and West Indies*, and *Gibraltar*, would, doubtless, go to *Canada*, *New-Brunswick*, and *Nova Scotia*, taking *Bermuda*, *Newfoundland*, and other like excrescences, in their way. Having finished their work at a distance, they would come nearer home, where they would prune away *Jersey*, *Guernsey*, and *Alderney*; where, sailing round *St. George’s Channel*, they would chop off, *en passant*, the islands of *Wight* and *Anglesea*. The *Western Islands* would require but a slight back-handed stroke, from which they would raise their axe to hew away *Ireland*; and thus would they leave us a nice, snug, compact little nation, entirely *unenvied* and almost *unknown*.

It is not true, that the granting of the independence of America was “an advantage to England.” It was, on the contrary, the greatest evil that ever befell her. It was the primary cause of the present war, and of all the calamities which it has brought upon England and upon Europe. If England and the American States had continued united, they would have prevented France from disturbing the peace of the world. That fatal measure, though it has not curtailed our commerce, has created a power who will be capable of assisting France in any of her future projects against us, and whose neutrality, when France recovers her marine, must be purchased

those of Mr. Hamilton, from pursuing their opposition to the treaty to the full extent of the wishes of the Whigs, the treaty was violated in that State and in all the others. It was evaded by the most base of subterfuges. The loyalists were prosecuted and persecuted, and, in some instances, killed * : they were loaded with double taxes, and numerous other vexatious impositions, and were, in fact, harassed full as much, if not more, than they would have been if the Congress had entered into no stipulation in their favour.

These proceedings did infinite injury to the nation in general, who were thereby exhibited to foreigners in the light of a people destitute of government, on whose engagements, of course, no dependance could be placed. Hence arose an universal stagnation of trade and commerce, and all the discontents with which such a stagnation is ever accompanied. The morals of the people too were greatly relaxed, particularly in regard to the payment of debts, and generally in all those transactions which furnish opportunities for the display of honesty or of fraud. The Congress and the State Governments had set the example of confiscation and of paper-swindling,

purchased by us at the expense, first of commercial concessions, and, finally, by much more important sacrifices. In short, it laid the foundation of the ruin of the British empire, which can be prevented by nothing but a wisdom and an energy, which have never yet marked the councils of our Government, in its transactions with the American States.

* Mr. LOVE, a loyal native of South Carolina, having returned to that State in the year 1784, was taken up by a Justice of the Peace, and was brought to trial: he was discharged upon motion made in virtue of the treaty of peace. A gang of the Whigs, whom Judge Burke (in his account of the matter) describes as being "*respectable* for character and services," seized him after he was discharged, mounted him upon a horse, led him to the skirt of a wood, where they fastened a rope round his neck, which they tied to the limb of a tree, and drove the horse from under him. Such is the justice and mercy of Whiggism!

which were become so familiar, that good faith between man and man, which is one of the great blessings of society, was almost entirely annihilated.

While the means of payment every where failed, the *taxes* increased. People could not help comparing their present with their former situation; but, to suffer them to look back, by no means suited their new rulers, who, therefore, contrived to amuse them with promises of better times, and with flowery prospects of the high destinies of their country. The public distress was, however, so great, that it required not a little art and industry to prevent it from breaking out into acts of violence. I like, as often as I can, to appeal, for my facts, to the parties themselves; in adherence to which plan I shall here insert a few extracts from the writings of those who endeavoured to put the best face upon the matter.

A Word of Consolation for America—Thoughts on the present Times—Not so gloomy as generally supposed—Necessity of enlarging the Powers of Congress.

MY DEAR FRIENDS,

Why those sour faces and gloomy countenances? "Is there not a cause?" you reply. "The taxes are heavy, money is scarce, the times distressing, and likely to grow worse." Likely to grow better, if our own folly do not prevent it. There is no reason for despondency. Can't you look back a few years to the midst of the war, when you bore greater distresses with patience and manly fortitude? What supported you then? Hope to see peace and secure independence. And are not your hopes realized? We have obtained a glorious peace, and sit quietly under our vines and fig-trees. Does this give you no satisfaction, and excite no gratitude to Heaven? And do you still murmur and complain?

"But oh! the immense public debt!" Not im-

menſe, not greater than you had reaſon to expect—a moderate price, which you would have bid without heſitating a moment ten years ago, for freedom from the hand of oppreſſion and arbitrary power, which forbade you to call any thing your own *. Why are you caſt down when you have weathered the ſtorm, and made your port? You need not fear to look the public debt full in the face: it is not ſo very formidable. The reſources of America are ſufficient to cancel it ſoon enough. Don't expect it to be done in a day, or a year. You are ſhaking the burden from your ſhoulders by degrees †. Great part of our certificates are already redeemed or burned; and the reſt will be conſtantly reducing by taxes and the ſale of lands. The public lands are an amazing reſource, which will afford us great relief. We ſhall have hardy induſtrious emigrants without number, to purchaſe and till the unappropriated lands, to increaſe our manufactures, and help to pay our public debts.

The path, my friends, to political felicity and ſalvation is very plain. 'Tis true we blundered ſometimes in the war, but, by the bleſſing of kind Providence, got through it. We have erred, greatly erred ſince, by extravagant importations and conſumption of foreign goods, a great part of them mere gewgaws and needleſs trumpery. This has taken away a good deal of our money, which we now want to carry on buſineſs and pay our taxes.

* This is one of thoſe falſhoods which had been repeated ſo often, that they were admitted as truths; beſides, no one *dared* contradict them *in print*, ſo that they were fearleſſly advanced on all occaſions.

† This was an expeditious way of ſhaking off the burden. What the Congreſs had paid in paper-money was, indeed, ſoon got rid of; but the debt due to France and Holland ſtill hangs about the neck of thoſe who choſe to rebel againſt their King: not one farthing of it has ever been cleared off, as may be ſeen in the State-ment, vol. xii.

We are smarting for this extravagance and folly; and it is best we should feel the lashes of this rod which we have made for our backs, till it hath taught us the most important and necessary lessons of frugality and industry. Bought wit is often best, and abides longest. However, the evils we suffer by this error are working their own remedy. People are making a virtue of necessity. They purchase fewer superfluities: they increase their own manufactures, and are becoming more industrious and frugal. My observation convinces me it is so with many, and I hope and believe it will grow more general. This, connected with what our Legislatures must, and I conceive will, soon do, cannot fail to give us increasing relief and comfort. Measures are taking, and I hope will be carried into full effect, to revive public credit, from various causes sunk low. This, once done, will, in a great measure, remove the distresses we feel for want of a more plentiful medium.

Congress must be vested with larger powers, powers to carry into effect their requisitions, and fully to regulate commerce. That power which is not efficient is really no power at all. The fair annual election of members of Congress is a sufficient guard against the abuse of such power: they can have no interest separate from that of the people at large, as they yearly quit their seats and return into private life. When Congress have plenary power to support the national faith and honour by wise measures, to do justice to foreign and domestic creditors, to regulate trade without being counteracted by any partial adjustments of particular States, then commerce will flourish, all nations will seek to trade with us, we shall have a ready market and a good price for whatever we have to part with: articles for exportation will increase rapidly; money will be largely imported, and will become plenty; exor-

bitant interest will be at an end ; all branches of business will be brisk, lively, and gainful ; taxes will grow less as the public debt diminishes.

You feel dull and ill-natured about the expenses of Government, and the monies which are, and must be raised, to pay the civil list ; but, my friends, this would not put you out of temper if you had looked into the matter with any degree of precision, and not taken your sentiments from noisy, envious, and disappointed persons : this will produce a tax hardly to be felt when we have wiped off the public debt. You think public officers have too large pay. It is possible some of them may have, though the safety and reputation of a people require that those whose time and abilities are devoted to the public service should be well supported ; otherwise we shall soon lose men of the best abilities out of Government ; and the political machine, for want of better and stronger hands to move and guide it, will become slow, weak, and irregular, in all its motions ; but if you could prune and pare down the salaries of public officers as low as any man but a mere niggard could wish, it would not (I speak from examination and calculation) lessen the expense more than threepence annually on the single poll in this and the other States. And can this, then, be so great a grievance ?

Most of the grievances which make you murmur want only to be examined with a candid honest heart, and a small share of fortitude and patience ; your countenances would change, and you would be recovered from fits of spleen. You will find infinite advantage by adopting the following advice of an honest cheerful fellow-citizen :

Keep a good conscience and a peaceful mind. Study no tricks or schemes to defraud any person, your creditors in particular. If you can't answer their demands so soon as you and they could wish,
let

let them see that you mean honestly, and that you are industrious and frugal; and you will find very few who will not treat you with tenderness and forbearance. And you that are creditors, be careful to show such a disposition towards your debtors. Plead for justice in Government towards the creditors of the public: many of them suffer extremely, and will suffer patiently, if they see no schemes on foot designed to defraud them. Believe it a maxim of everlasting truth, that righteousness exalteth a nation. You must see, if you don't shut your eyes against the fullest evidence, that Government have carried their tenderness and concern towards debtors, public and private, to a great length; perhaps too far in some instances. By this means the public debt is lessening in the easiest way that can consist with honour and integrity in Government. Don't you pay many of your taxes by orders and public securities, which you obtain at forty, fifty, or sixty per cent. discount? This discount falls as real loss somewhere. Are you so selfish as to have no pity on those who sustain it, among whom are many poor soldiers, widows, and orphans? Will you murmur when they are silent, though you are eased at their expense?

Lay your plan every year, to make such daily savings in your expenses, and to gain so much by vigorous exertions in the way of honest industry, as shall enable you seasonably to pay your taxes. They who judiciously lay such plans, and keep them in their eye, and endeavour every day and week to be in the execution of them, will not fail, unless prevented by some special providence; in which case, justice and humanity in their fellow-citizens will not fail to secure them indulgence or abatements.

Let every day bear the marks of the three following political virtues, always good, and at present indispensable

penfably neceffary: induftry, frugality, and economy. Thefe will perform wonders; thefe will work out your falvation. Are they painful and felf-denying? You will find them very little fo when you have once entered heartily into the practice of them: they will rather improve than diminifh the health of your bodies, the peace of your minds, and every laudable enjoyment. Ye farmers, look over your lands, and fee what parts may be cultivated to more advantage, how you can raife more grain and flax, keep more cows and fheep, fat more cattle, fell more beef and pork, and other articles of produce. Study agriculture; carry it to the greateft perfection: it is the bafis of our wealth, of manufactures, and of all gainful commerce. Gentlemen and ladies, old and young, look over your expenfes and manner of living. You will fhew the trueft and moft reputable patriotifm by retrenching fuperfluities. Caft an eye back frequently upon the plain, cheap, and frugal manner in which your worthy and pious anceftors lived a century ago. Need we be afhamed, in this difficult day, to conform more to it than we do? Yea, would it not be to our honour? Don't murmur at, or envy thofe, who you fee are able to pay their taxes feafonably, and at the fame time to live in what is called a more fashionable ftyle than you. Perfect equality, as to property, can never take place, even in the moft popular governments: could it be brought about to-day, a thoufand things, which nothing but Omnipotence could effect, would be neceffary to continue it for a year, confiftently with the natural rights and liberties of mankind, under any form of government which allowed any fuch thing as private property. Some always did, and always will obtain more money than others, from numerous caufes too obvious to be mentioned. There is a greater equality in this country than in almoft any other; and it may continue if it be not
our

our own fault : few freeholders need cease to be so, unless by influence of pride, indolence, and luxury.

Be jealous of your privileges ; but let not your jealousy grow into ill-natured and groundless suspicions. Attend not to the complaints and murmurs of factious discontented persons ; for some such will be found in all communities. Seek the redress of real grievances, if any such you have, in a constitutional way, and not by mobs and riots ; by these you will lose more time, and money, and good temper, than can be compensated by all their influence. Be careful not to anticipate, by an anxious apprehensive temper, troubles which may never come. Those best consult their own happiness, as well as the good of society, who study to be quiet, and to attend to their own proper business. Don't be uneasy at the continuance of public burdens, as if they could be removed in a day or a year : time and patience, with a proper line of conduct, will daily lessen them, till they be all done away.

The sentiments, the consolation, and the line of conduct expressed above, I have adopted, believing them to be dictated by reason and the complexion of the times. I am no legislator, hold no office under Government, nor ever shall. I have realized what many professed a willingness to submit to at the beginning of the war—the loss of near half the small property I had. I consider it as an honourable sacrifice to the cause of liberty and of my country; and bear it patiently. I am, and always expect to be, in private and low life. I feel high satisfaction in the freedom and independence of America, and doubt not of its growing prosperity and welfare, if the conduct which I have slightly suggested is gone into by the people in general ; which is accordingly recommended with earnestness and affection by

AN HONEST CHEERFUL CITIZEN.

On Redress of Grievances *.

By some resolves of the discontented people of this State (Massachusetts), it appears that the true cause of public grievances is mistaken, and consequently the mode of redress will be mistaken. It is laughable enough to hear the people gravely resolving, that the sitting of the General Court at Boston is a grievance, when every body may recollect that about twelve years ago the removal of the Legislature to Cambridge was a grievance—an unconstitutional stretch of power, that threw the province into a bustle. A great change since Hutchinson's time! Boston then was the only proper seat of the Legislature.

Lawyers, too, are squeezed into the catalogue of grievances. Why, Sir, lawyers are a consequence, not a cause, of public evils. They grow out of the laziness, dilatoriness in payment of debts, breaches of contract, and other vices of the people—just as mushrooms grow out of dunghills after a shower—or as distilleries spring out of the *taste* for New-England rum. The sober, industrious, frugal Dutch in New-York, and the Quakers and Germans in Pennsylvania, have no occasion for lawyers—a collector never calls upon them twice—and they feel no grievances. *Before the war there was, in Orange county, New-York, but one action of debt tried in eighteen years. O happy people! happy times! no grievances!†!*

Now,

* Published in the State of Massachusetts, during the time of the conventioning.

† This fact having fallen in my way, I shall enable the reader to compare it with another fact, contained in the following article, taken from a New-York paper, called the Commercial Advertiser (formerly the Minerva) of the 13th of March, 1798:

“The following statement is given from the best possible calculation and regular information which can be obtained, and though
“considerably

Now, in my humble opinion, there are but two effectual methods of redressing grievances; one depends

“considerably under-rated, will show that an amount of dollars	
“almost incredible is annually bestowed on the lawyers and sheriffs in the city of New-York.	
“Average suits of law commenced in the city of New-York from	
“the third Tuesday in November, 1797 (a space of four months),	
“ <i>is twelve thousand five hundred</i> , the termination of which is	
“proportioned as follows:—	
“Council fees, writ, and service, average six dols. fifty	
“cents each - - - - -	81,250
“[Two tenths settled on service of the writ, or withdrawn by the plaintiff.]	
“Three tenths continued to declaration, and judgment	
“confessed, average cost at twenty-five dols. each -	118,750
“Two tenths settled after judgment is obtained and entered up, ditto forty do. - - - -	100,000
“Three tenths execution served, costs, and poundage, will	
“frequently amount to one hundred dols. average at	
“fifty dols. calculated (whilst some have from ten to	
“twenty) for three executions to be lodged against	
“each imprisoned debtor, or such who settle without	
“imprisonment - - - - -	187,500
“Annual distribution amongst the lawyers and sheriffs	
“of New-York - - - - -	477,500
“One hundred and fifty citizens of New-York on the	
“average are imprisoned for debt in the county jail	
“and elsewhere. Their support for one year, each	
“per day seventy-five cents - - - -	40,950
“One third have families. Fifty families support for	
“do. do. two dols. fifty cents - - -	45,625
“The annual loss of property sacrificed to prevent an	
“equal distribution, exclusive of the loss sustained by	
“the debtor’s living deprived of attending his affairs,	
“cannot be ascertained. For one year the loss, only	
“at about twenty individual insolvents, which <i>actually</i>	
“ <i>devolves on creditors</i> , is upwards of - - -	500,000
<hr/>	
Dollars	<u>1,541,575</u>

Thus, *before the war*, Orange county saw but *one* action of debt tried in *eighteen years*; and, since the war, the city and county of New-York (in the same State) have seen upwards of *twelve thousand* actions of debt commenced in *four months*. The city and county of New-York are much more populous, and more commercial than,

pend on the people as individuals—and the other on the supreme executive authority.

As to the first, let every person, whether farmer, mechanic, lawyer, or doctor, provide a small box (*a small box* will be big enough), with a hole in the lid. When he receives a shilling, let him put sixpence into the box, and use the other sixpence in providing for his family—not rum or feathers, but good bread and meat. Let this box remain untouched until the collector shall call; then let it be opened, the tax paid, and the overplus of cash may be expended on gauze, ribands, tea, and New-England rum. Let the box then be put into its place again, to receive pence for the next collector. This method will redress all grievances, without the trouble, noise, and expense of town meetings, conventions, and mobs.

As to the other method, I can only say, were I at the head of the executive authority, I should soon put the question to a decisive issue. It should be determined, on the first insurrection, whether our lives and our properties shall be secure under the law and the constitution of the State, or whether they must depend on the mad-resolves of illegal meetings. Honest men then would know whether they may rest in safety at home, or whether they must seek for tranquillity in some distant country.

AN INDUSTRIOUS MAN.

The Devil is in You.*

That the political body, like the animal, is liable to violent diseases, which, for a time, baffle the healing

than Orange county; but, at this time, I dare say there are two thousand actions of debt commenced annually in Orange county, where there was, before the war, only one action of this sort tried in eighteen years.

* Published in Boston shortly after the preceding letter.

art,

is a truth which we all acknowledge, and which most of us lament. But as most of the disorders incident to the human frame are the consequence of an intemperate indulgence of its appetites, or of neglecting the most obvious means of safety ; so most of the popular tumults, which disturb Government, arise from an abuse of its blessings, or an inattention to its principles. A man of a robust constitution, relying on its strength, riots in gratifications which weaken the *flamina vite* ; the surfeiting pleasures of a few years destroy the power of enjoyment, and the full-fed voluptuary feels a rapid transition to the meagre valetudinarian. Thus people who enjoy an uncommon share of political privileges, often carry their freedom to licentiousness, and put it out of their power to enjoy society by destroying its support.

Too much health is a *disease* which often requires a very strict regimen—*too much liberty* is the worst species of tyranny—and *wealth* may be accumulated to such a degree as to *impoverish* a State. Did all men attempt to become masters, the most of them would necessarily become slaves in the attempt ; and could *every* man on earth possess millions of joes, *every* man would be *poorer* than *any man* is now, and infinitely more wretched, because they could not procure the necessaries of life.

My countrymen, it is a common saying now, *that the devil is in you*. I question the influence of the devil, however, in these affairs. Divines and politicians agree in this, to father all evil upon the devil ; but the effects ascribed to this prince of evil spirits, both in the moral and political world, I ascribe to the wickedness and ignorance of the human heart. Taking the word *devil* in this sense, he is *in* you and *among* you in a variety of shapes.

In the first place, the *weakness of our Federal Government is the devil*. It prevents the adoption of any measures that are requisite for us as a nation ; it keeps

us from paying our honest debts ; it also throws out of our power all the profits of commerce : and this drains us of cash. Is not this the devil ? Yes, my countrymen, an empty purse is the *devil*.

You say you are jealous of your rights, and dare not trust Congress. Well, that jealousy is an evil spirit, and all evil spirits are *devils*. So far the devil is in you. You act, in this particular, just like the crew of a ship, who would not trust the helm with *one* of their number, because he might *possibly* run her ashore, when, by leaving her without a pilot, they were *certain* of shipwreck. You act just like men, who, in raising a building, would not have a master workman, because he *might* give out wrong orders. You will be masters yourselves—and as you are not all ready to lift at the same time, one labours at a flick of timber, then another, then a third—you are then vexed that it is not raised—why, let a master order thirteen of you to take hold together, and you will lift it at once. Every family has a *master* (or a *mistress*—I beg the ladies' pardon). When a ship or a house is to be built, there is a master—when highways are repairing, there is a master—every little school has a master—the continent is a great school—the boys are numerous, and full of roguish tricks—and there is no *master*. The boys in this great school play truant, and there is no person to chastise them. Do you think, my countrymen, that America is more easily governed than a school ? You do very well in small matters ; extend your reason to great ones. Would you not laugh at a farmer who would fasten a three-inch cable to a plough, and yet attempt to draw a house with a cobweb ? “ And Nathan said unto David, *Thou art the man*.” You think a master necessary to govern *a few*, harmless children in a school or family, yet leave thousands of great rogues to be governed by *good advice*. Believe me, my friends—for I am *serious*—you *lose rights*, because

you will not give your magistrates authority to *protect* them. Your liberty is despotism, because it has no control—your power is nothing, because it is not united.

But further, luxury rages among you—and luxury is *the devil*. The war sent this evil demon to impoverish people, and embarrasses the public. The articles of rum and tea alone, which are drank in this country, would pay all its taxes. But when we add sugar, coffee, gauzes, silks, feathers, and the whole list of baubles and trinkets, what an enormous expence! No wonder you want paper currency. My countrymen are all grown very tasty! Feathers and jordans must all be imported. Certainly, gentlemen, the *devil* is among you. A Hampshireman, who drinks forty shillings worth of rum in a year, and never thinks of the expence, will raise a mob to reduce the Governor's salary *, which does not amount to three-pence per man per annum. Is not this the *devil*?

My countrymen, an industrious man † not long ago informed you how to redress grievances. He gives excellent advice. Let every man make a little box, and put into it four-pence per day. This in a year will amount to six pounds one shilling and eight pence—a sum sufficient to pay any poor man's tax. Any man can spare three or four pence per day—but a poor man would find it difficult and hardly possible, at the end of the year, to pay six pounds. Take my advice every man of you, and you will hardly feel your taxes.

But further, a *tender law* is the *devil*. When I trust a man a sum of money, I expect he will return

* Among the grievances enumerated by the different Conventions in Massachusetts, was the Governor's salary, which is only 1100*l.* per annum.

† See the preceding letter.

the value. That Legislature which says my debtor may pay me with one third of the value he received, commits a deliberate act of villany—an act for which an individual in any Government would be honoured with a whipping-post, and in most Governments with a gallows. When a man makes dollars, of which one third part only is silver, he must lose his ears, &c. But Legislatures can, with the solemn face of rulers and guardians of justice, boldly give currency to an adulterated coin, enjoin it upon debtors to cheat their creditors, and enforce their systematic knavery with penalties. The difference between the man who makes and passes counterfeit money, and the man who tenders his creditor one third of the value of the debt, and demands a discharge, is the same as between a thief and a robber. The first cheats his neighbour in the dark, and takes his property without his knowledge. The latter boldly meets him at noon day, tells him he is a rascal, and demands his purse.

My countrymen, the *devil* is among you. Make paper as much as you please. Make it a tender in all *future* contracts, or let it rest on its own credit—but remember that *past* contracts are sacred things—and that Legislatures have no right to interfere with them, they have no right to say a debt shall be paid at a discount, or in any manner which the parties never intended. It is the business of justice to fulfil the intention of parties in contracts—not to defeat them. To pay *bona fide* contracts for cash, in paper of little value, or in old horses, would be a dishonest attempt in an individual : but for Legislatures to frame laws to support and encourage such detestable villany, is like a Judge who should inscribe the arms of a rogue over the seat of justice, or a clergyman who should convert into bawdy-houses, the temples of Jehovah. My countrymen, the world says, *the devil*

devil is in you—mankind detest you as they would a nest of robbers.

But lastly, mobs and conventions are devils. Good men love law and legal measures. Knaves only fear law, and try to destroy it. My countrymen, if a constitutional legislature cannot redress a grievance, a mob never can. Laws are the security of life and property—nay, what is more, of liberty. The man who encourages a mob to prevent the operation of law, ceases to be free or safe; for the same principle which leads a man to put a bayonet to the breast of a Judge, will lead him to take property where he can find it: and when the Judge dare not act, where is the loser's remedy? Alas! my friends, too much liberty is no liberty at all. Give me any thing but mobs; for mobs are *the devil in his worst shape*. I would shoot the leader of a mob, sooner than a midnight ruffian. People may have grievances perhaps, and no man would more readily hold up his hand to redress them than myself: but mobs rebel against laws of their own: and rebellion is a crime which admits of no palliation.

My countrymen, I am a private peaceable man. I have no office of any kind. I have nothing to win or to lose by the game of paper currency: but I revere justice. I would sooner pick oakum all the days of my life, than stain my reputation, or pay a creditor one farthing less than his honest demands.

While you attempt to trade to advantage, without a head to combine all the States into systematic, uniform measures, the world will laugh at you for fools. While merchants take and give credit, the world will call them idiots, and laugh at their ruin. While farmers get credit, borrow money, and mortgage their farms, the world will call them fools, and laugh at their embarrassment. While all men live beyond their incomes, and are harassed by duns and sheriffs, no man will pity them, or give them relief.

Bu

But when mobs and conventions oppose the Courts of Justice, and Legislatures make paper, and old horses a legal tender in all cases, the world will exclaim with one voice, *Ye are rogues, and the devil is in you !*

TOM THOUGHTFUL.

An infallible Cure for hard Times.

1. Calculate your income, and be sure you do not let your expenses be quite so much : lay by some for a rainy day.

2. Never follow fashions, but let the fashions follow you—that is, direct your business and expenses by your own judgment, not by the custom of fools, who spend more than their income.

3. Never listen to the tales of complainers, who spend their breath in crying “Hard times !” and do nothing to mend them.

4. It is a truth, which all men ought to know and realize, that every man (those only excepted, who are not able to support themselves in any community) may live within his income, and thereby preserve his independence. If a man is poor, his taxes are small, unless he holds an estate which he cannot pay for. In such case, he does not own it, and therefore ought to let the owner take it.

Industry and economy will for ever triumph over hard times, and disappoint poverty. Therefore, the general cry, that we cannot pay the taxes and live, is absolutely false.

It is true, we feel, and we ought to feel, some difficulties in paying for the glorious prize, independence. The taxes will be only temporary—but the prize immortal. And he is unworthy of freedom, who repines at paying his money, when so many patriots and heroes have laid down their lives to purchase it for their country.

I shall conclude with an extract from a sermon preached by a sound divine :—

“ The

“ The scarcity of money is the only thing that
 “ will save this people. This alone can produce
 “ industry and economy, without which no people
 “ can be virtuous and happy. This is an universal
 “ truth, applicable to all people in every country:
 “ It is impossible to be happy without industry, eco-
 “ nomy, and virtue : and as experience evinces that
 “ these are produced by what we call hard times, or
 “ the scarcity of money, we ought certainly to be
 “ thankful when we see the causes of public happi-
 “ ness operating. Therefore, let this circumstance
 “ excite in us gratitude to a kind Providence, for
 “ connecting future prosperity with present scarcity;
 “ and so ordering causes and events, that good shall
 “ come out of evil, necessity produce reformation,
 “ and hard times, good times.”

To the good People of America.

And really a good sort of people ye are when ye are pleased. The task is not difficult to bring ye into good humour neither ; but I defy all the artists upon earth to keep you so.

Ye love to find fault—nay, to make faults : and, if you cannot quarrel with your neighbours, you will fall out with yourselves ; like the greyhound who used to grow angry at his own tail.

You may say, that I am guilty of injustice ; and that ye are affable, humane, friendly, charitable, social, sweet-tempered, self-denying beings. If every person was to draw his own picture, the pen and ink portrait would appear so ; but to me, who have looked upon life for above twenty years, as an unconcerned spectator of all the fantasticalness with which mankind have fatigued themselves—to me ye appear selfish, stubborn, querulous, conceited, discontented existences—and ever enjoy more than ye deserve—yet are daily wishing for more enjoyments, and do less and less to deserve them.

Last week I called on an old acquaintance ; his lady told me, her spouse was disturbed and disordered at something, she could not tell what ; and that she was happy at my calling, because she hoped I would get him into spirits again.

I went to him into his study ; there he sat, discontented as an undone gamester. I took him by the hand, and inquired if he was ill.—“ What, then, Sir, can you be uneasy about ? ”—“ See, there, Sir,” my friend replied, raising his voice, and at the same time pulling some printed papers out of his pocket : “ There, Sir, read there ! There is the Gazette, and the Journal, and the Herald, and the Mercury, and the Chronicle—who can enjoy himself, when he reads such terrible accounts as they give us, not only of the Government, but also of the people ? Mercy upon us ! but we are a *bought* and *sold* nation*.”

From these little essays, written upon the spot, and coming from persons engaged in the busy scene, and deeply interested in every material occurrence, a correct judgment may be formed of the temper of the times, and of the multitude of mischiefs that had already resulted from the rebellion, though that rebellion had triumphed. Were it my wish to show the picture in its most horrid light, I should quote the *complaints* of the people ; but it has been my constant study to leave no room for a charge of misrepresentation to be made against me, and therefore have I cited, as my evidences, the Whigs themselves.

In spite, however, of all these quieting efforts of the leading Whigs, the discontents of the people increased with the increase of their distresses and their taxes. Riots and revolts broke out in several of the States. In that of Massachusetts, the very State

* If ever a *true* history of the American rebellion should be published, it will appear that the old Gentleman was *not* very *wide of the mark*.

where the rebellion was hatched, and where the sword was first drawn, these discontents broke out into open insurrection. A considerable number of the malcontents assembled and put themselves under the command of a leader named SHAY, who had himself served in the rebel army. A body of troops were marched against the insurgents, who were, though not without some difficulty, reduced to submission.

These malcontents did not fail to employ against their new rulers the same arguments which these rulers had employed to seduce them from their allegiance ; and, in some instances, they borrowed the invectives and the falsehoods which had been used with so much success against the King and his Government. "What," said the partisans of SHAY, "shall we, who have shed our blood in shaking off
" the tyranny of Britain, now submit to a tyranny
" ten thousand times more odious and oppressive,
" without enjoying any of the quiet and protection
" which our former tyrant yielded us ? The paper
" which the Congress published to the world, in
" justification of their demand of independence ;
" that memorable paper contained a declaration of
" the principles of the Congress, and an enumeration
" of the grievances of the people. Let us re-
" cite them here, compare them with the practice of
" our present rulers, and with our present grievances.

" We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all
" men are created equal ; that they are endowed by
" their Creator with certain unalienable rights,
" amongst which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of
" happiness. That to secure these rights, governments
" are instituted amongst men, deriving their just
" powers from the consent of the governed ; that
" whenever any form of government becomes destruc-
" tive of these ends, it is the right of the people to
" alter and abolish it, and to institute a new govern-
" ment."

" These, then, are the principles, to support which
" we drew the sword against our former sovereign,

“ This was the condition, on which we hazarded
 “ our all. In fulfilling our part of the compact
 “ we have lost our time, our property ; many of us
 “ our health and our limbs, and the lives of friends
 “ and relations the most dear to us. But how have
 “ the Congress and other men in power fulfilled
 “ their part of this compact ? Instead of becoming
 “ all *equal*, is not the inequality greater than ever ?
 “ Have not our rulers fattened on the war, while it
 “ has reduced us to a state of starvation and rags ?
 “ In one short and comprehensive description, are we
 “ not become a nation of grandees, and of beggars ?
 “ We were told that amongst our unalienable
 “ rights, were ‘ *life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness*.’ Our *lives* have not, indeed, been taken from
 “ us ; our souls have not, *as yet*, been alienated
 “ from our bodies ; but every comfort of life has been
 “ alienated. We have no *liberty* but the liberty of
 “ choosing the means of putting an end to our mis-
 “ eries ; and we cannot esteem it a very great favour
 “ to have our choice between a rope and a knife.
 “ The ‘ *pursuit of happiness*’ is a blessing, which, we
 “ must confess, we enjoy in its fullest extent ; for, if
 “ we may judge from our present prospects, it is a
 “ pursuit that will end but with our lives.

“ The remedy has been pointed out by the very
 “ persons, of whose conduct we now complain.
 “ ‘ Whenever,’ says the Declaration, ‘ *any form of*
 “ government becomes destructive of these ends,
 “ it is the right of the people to ALTER AND ABOLISH IT.’ We wish not to go so far. We wish
 “ not to abolish, nor do we wish to alter the Govern-
 “ ment ; but we wish that Government to redress
 “ our grievances, which we can best recite by a com-
 “ parison between them and those grievances which
 “ are set forth in the Declaration of Independence.

1. “ He” (the King) “ has refused his assent to laws,
 “ the most wholesome and necessary for the public
 “ good.”

“ And

“ And so have our new rulers. Nay, they have
“ not only refused, and do still refuse to pass laws,
“ the most wholesome and necessary for the public
“ good, but they have passed other laws, destruc-
“ tive of the public good; which laws they keep
“ in full force against the will and the repeated
“ complaints of the people.

2. “ He has made Judges dependant on his will alone,
“ for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and
“ payment of their salaries.”

“ Not only are Judges at present dependant in
“ many cases on the will of the Congress and State
“ Legislatures, but these bodies have themselves
“ usurped the office of Judges, and have, and do
“ still, *exercise the functions of both Judges and Jurors.*

3. “ He has erected a multitude of new offices, and
“ sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people,
“ and eat out their substance.”

“ Since the issuing of this Declaration, offices
“ have increased in number a hundred-fold; we are
“ harassed from the rising to the going down of the
“ sun; officers of all denominations and degrees
“ swarm about us as thick as the locusts of Egypt,
“ and it matters little to us whether they come from
“ a foreign country, or creep out of our native earth.
“ That they eat up our substance, we have but too
“ clear a proof in the misery that universally prevails,
“ where peace and plenty formerly as universally
“ resided. Once we were like lambs living in a pas-
“ ture, where we could bask and feed at one and the
“ same time; now we are like dogs snarling and
“ fighting for the bones that come from the tables of
“ our master.

4. “ He has quartered large bodies of armed troops
“ amongst us. He has rendered the military inde-
“ pendent of, and superior to, the civil power.”

“ Those who rule us at present have no other
“ power but the military, whereby they hold us in
“ subjection

“ subjection to their will ; and, to add to our mortification and disgrace on this score, they compel one part of the community to bear arms against the other.

5. “ He has cut off our trade with all parts of the world.”

“ We scarcely know what the King did in this respect ; but this we know, that, before the war, our sea-ports were in a flourishing condition, and that they are now as destitute of commerce as our pockets are of money. We have no trade, no credit, and have no hope that either will return to our unfortunate country.

6. “ He has abolished the *free* system of *English laws* in Canada. He has taken away our own charters, and altered fundamentally the forms of our Government.”

“ It was, perhaps, no great matter to us what was done in Canada ; and we are sorry, that, as the abolishing of ‘ the *free* system of *English laws*’ *there* was so great an evil, it was imitated *here*. If the King did wrong in altering ‘ fundamentally the forms of our Government,’ why are not those forms *restored*, instead of being completely annihilated ?

“ We marvel, that in this Declaration, which was intended to proclaim to the world all the grievances that urged us to take up arms, the Congress took no notice of the unjust and oppressive taxes that were attempted to be forced on us, and which, in our simple judgment, were the chief cause of resistance. Our rulers acted wisely. They foresaw, perhaps, that they themselves should soon load us with taxes, compared to which, the duty on stamps and on tea would appear as a feather in the balance ; they doubtless foresaw, that, after seven years of toil, danger, devastation, and bloodshed, we should be compelled to pay taxes

“ ten times heavier than the British Parliament even
 “ wished to impose on us. What burdens that un-
 “ just assembly might have had in contemplation, it
 “ is impossible for us to say ; but, if their rapacity
 “ could have invented modes of extortion more op-
 “ pressive and arbitrary than those which are now
 “ practised on us, they surpass in ingenuity and
 “ cruelty any set of tyrants we have ever heard of,
 “ not excepting the Spanish Inquisition, or the Turk-
 “ ish Divan.

“ It being then clearly stated in the Declaration of
 “ Independence, that, ‘ Whenever *any* form of go-
 “ vernment becomes destructive of *life, liberty*, and
 “ the *pursuit of happiness*, the people have a right to
 “ *alter and abolish* it ;’ and it being no less clear, that
 “ the form of government which we now have, has
 “ been, and yet is, destructive of all three, it natu-
 “ rally follows, as a fair and evident deduction, that
 “ we, *the people*, have a right immediately to alter
 “ and abolish the Government, under which we are
 “ spinning out a miserable existence. Yet we wish
 “ not to proceed harshly or hastily ; we ask for a *re-
 “ dress of our grievances* ; and this we are resolved to
 “ obtain, or perish in the attempt.”

Such were the sentiments of the people at large ;
 for though the insurrection at Massachusetts was
 not very formidable, the spirit that gave rise to it
 was far from being confined to a few breasts.—
 But the press was in a state of such abject slavery,
 and the power both civil and military was so com-
 pletely vested in the leading Whigs, who took
 care to accuse of Toryism every one who dared to
 resist, or even to complain, that resistance was
 overawed, and complaint was stifled.

It was evident, however, that this state of things
 could not be of long duration. A system of terror
 may subdue, for a while ; but finally, it is sure to
 produce the destruction of those who seek for protec-

tion from it. Such a system has in France already swept off four successive sets of tyrants, and it will sweep off the present tyrant (Bonaparté), and every other that shall have the folly to pursue it.

The leading American Whigs (I speak with some exceptions) were full as tyrannical in their dispositions, and rapacious in their wishes, as any of the French usurpers, Robespierre and Bonaparté not excepted; but being more cunning, they had the prudence to relax before it was too late. Therefore, to preserve their power, to prevent the people from returning to their allegiance, and at the same time to soften their lot, they found it necessary to have recourse to a new confederation, and to form a new *General Government*, approaching as near as they could venture to bring it to the Government of Great Britain. Some of these leading Whigs were, in this instance, certainly actuated by a pure love for their country. Others, and a far greater part of the whole, saw in the measure a new field for the gratification of their vanity and selfishness. All the Tories who remained in the States, and who still formed a vast majority of the peaceable, industrious, honest, sober, and wealthy inhabitants, cordially gave it their concurrence. Indeed good men of all parties and classes sighed for an efficient Government of some sort or other. They were tired of living without law and justice, without peace and security; and, perhaps, the circumstance of the old Congress being stained with the name of *rebel*, a name which even rebels dislike, had no trifling share in producing the unanimity with which it was decried, and finally exploded.

But to persuade the ignorant multitude to agree to the adoption of a *strong* Government, was no easy matter; and the leading Whigs themselves felt great reluctance to adopt what might be called an imitation of a Government, which they had, though falsely

falsely and maliciously, accused of every vice that can possibly be ascribed to any human institution. To do something was, however, absolutely necessary; and they accordingly began their operations, which they conducted with great caution, and with greater success than they could possibly hope for.

They, as was their custom in all extraordinary emergencies, had recourse to a general and systematic use of the press. It is truly curious to observe the change which their language now assumed. I quote that of Dr. Benjamin Rush, as a specimen; the passage is taken from an Essay which he published, 1787, with a view to aid in bringing about the proposed change.

“ The confederation, together with most of our
 “ State Constitutions, were formed under very unfavourable circumstances. We had just emerged
 “ from a corrupted monarchy. Although we understood perfectly the principles of liberty, yet most
 “ of us were ignorant of the forms and combinations of power in republics. Add to this, the
 “ British army was in the heart of our country, spreading desolation wherever it went: our sentiments, of course, were awakened. We detested the British name; and unfortunately refused
 “ to copy some things in the administration of justice and power; in the British Government, *which have made it the admiration and envy of the world.*
 “ In our opposition to monarchy, we forgot that
 “ the temple of tyranny has two doors. We bolted
 “ one of them by proper restraints; but we left the
 “ other open, by neglecting to guard against the
 “ effects of our own ignorance and licentiousness.

“ It is often said, that ‘the sovereign and all other power is seated *in* the people.’ This idea is
 “ unhappily expressed. It should be—‘all power
 “ is derived *from* the people.’ They possess it
 “ only on the days of their elections. *After this it*
 “ is

“ *is the property of their rulers* ; nor can they exercise or resume it, unless it be abused. It is of importance to circulate this idea, as it leads to order and good government.

“ The people of America have mistaken the meaning of the word *sovereignty* : hence each State pretends to be *sovereign*. In Europe, it is applied only to those States which possess the power of making war and peace—of forming treaties, and the like. As this power belongs only to Congress, they are the only *sovereign* power in the United States.

“ We commit a similar mistake in our ideas of the word *independent*. No individual State, as such, has any claim to independence. She is independent *only in a union* with her sister States in Congress.”

By paltry subterfuges like these did this man, and several others, who, like him, had been the most malicious rebels, and the most foul calumniators of the British King, Nation, and Government, endeavour to extract from the minds of the people, the poison which themselves had infused. Some few might, possibly, be reconciled to the contemplated measure, by such flimsy devices ; but the far greater number and more respectable part of the nation, gave their consent and their aid, from a conviction of the necessity of an efficient system, to which no small part of them joined a hope, that the new Government would very nearly, if not quite, resemble the Government of England, to which experience had increased their attachment.

After the subject had for some time been discussed in the newspapers, the State Legislatures began to take it up, having previously taken care to procure addresses to themselves from the people, requesting them so to do. An address for this end, presented by some of the people in Virginia, was worded thus :

“ As

“ As Citizens of the United States, we cannot
“ remain unconcerned spectators of the alarming
“ picture of national distress, presented by Congress
“ to the world, in their late address; we are far from
“ condemning their unreserved communication. If
“ expedients are the resources of the weak, secrecy
“ is the cloak of the base mind. We wish they
“ had gone farther, and proposed a radical cure for
“ a radical evil. The confederal constitution, whilst
“ it presents a comedy to the rest of the world, will
“ prove in the end a tragedy to ourselves, and our
“ distress will be attended with so much ridicule, that
“ we shall lose the consolation of pity.

“ Government without coercion, is a proposition
“ at once so absurd and self-contradictory, that the
“ idea creates a confusion of the understanding—it
“ is form without substance—at best a body without
“ a soul. If men would act right, Government of all
“ kinds would be useless—if States or Nations, who
“ are but assemblages of men, would do right, there
“ would be no wars or disorder in the universe.
“ Bad as individuals are, States are worse.—
“ Clothe men with public authority, and almost
“ universally they consider themselves as liberated
“ from the obligations of moral rectitude, because
“ they are no longer amenable to justice.

“ Congress, with a press, during the life of paper
“ money did wonders. Since it naturally died,
“ they have had the power of emitting bills and bor-
“ rowing money, without funds to gain credit; of
“ raising an army, and equipping a navy, without
“ the means of building a ship, or subsisting a sol-
“ dier; of sending ambassadors, who divulge our
“ distress abroad, and render our poverty more splen-
“ didly conspicuous, making treaties, which they
“ cannot enforce the execution of, and with nations
“ who can derive every advantage from us better
“ without

“ without them; and finally, they present themselves a spectacle so ludicrous, that we cannot help being diverted at our own calamities.

“ The melioration of a constitution, founded on such false and incompatible principles, seems in every view almost impossible; but expedients proposed, which require the unanimous concurrence of thirteen separate Legislatures, differing in interests, distinct in habits, and opposite from prejudices, have so repeatedly failed, that they no longer furnish a ray of hope.—We pray therefore for the day when we shall see a *National Convention* sit, composed of the best and ablest men in the Union, a majority of whom shall be invested with the power of altering it. It is now so bad as to defy the malice and ingenuity of fortune to make it worse.”

After several fruitless attempts to form a National Convention, composed of deputies from all the thirteen States, one was at last assembled at Annapolis, in Maryland, to which delegates were sent from every one, Rhode Island excepted, which continued refractory for a long time, notwithstanding threats like these: “ *Rhode Island* has refused to co-operate in this business. From her antifederal disposition nothing better could have been expected. To that State it is owing that the continental impost has not taken place. To her may be charged the poverty of the soldiers of the late army, *the heavy taxes of our citizens*, and the embarrassed state of the public finances. It is, however, sincerely hoped and wished, that her dissent will never more be permitted to defeat any federal measure. Rather let her *be dropped out of the Union*, or *apportioned to the different States that surround her.*”

It was an atrocious calumny to accuse *Rhode Island* of the crime of having caused the heavy taxes which pressed upon the people. Those taxes arose out of the

the rebellion, into which Rhode Island had been dragged by Massachusetts. Nor was it very consistent with those notions of *liberty*, of *unalienable rights*, and *perfect independence*, which had been so long and so loudly inculcated, to compel her to join in what she did not approve of, upon pain of being “*dropped out of the Union*,” or “*apportioned to the different States surrounding her*.” But Rhode Island was small and weak; circumstances quite sufficient to encourage the other twelve States to act towards her with insolence and injustice. They did, however, forbear from such conduct. Leaving her to feel the fatal effects of her obstinacy, they proceeded to form a Federal Constitution. The Convention of Deputies met for the purpose, and chose General Washington for their President, on the 14th of May, 1797. The session closed on the 17th of September, in the same year, when the Constitution, as it now stands, was agreed upon, and presented for the ratification of the respective States. When the first Congress met under the new Constitution, some amendments were added.

Several of the States ratified with great reluctance; and it is not too much to say, that a *majority* of them yielded from a dread of anarchy, rather than from their approbation of the new Constitution. North Carolina, though she had sent Deputies to the Convention, refused, for a long time, to ratify the instrument which that Convention had agreed on. Rhode Island still continued refractory; and though the Constitution was, at last, ratified by all the States, there still existed, with respect to it, that difference of opinion and discontent, which sowed the seeds of those factions that have since poisoned the felicity of a country, which, with some abatements as to climate, might, by a well-poised and efficient government, have been rendered one of the happiest in the world.

FEDERAL CONSTITUTION.

We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I. SECTION I.

All legislative powers herein granted, shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and a House of Representatives.

SECTION II.

I. The House of Representatives shall consist of members chosen every second year, by the people of the several States: and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

II. No person shall be a Representative, who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a Citizen of the United States; and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

III. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included in this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States; and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand; but each State shall have at least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New-Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three; Massachusetts eight; Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, one; Connecticut, five; New-York, six; New-Jersey, four; Pennsylvania, eight; Delaware, one; Maryland, six; Virginia, ten; North Carolina, five; South Carolina, five; and Georgia, three.

IV. When vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of elections to fill such vacancies.

V. The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECTION III.

I. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six years: and each Senator shall have one vote.

II.

II. Immediately after they shall be assembled, in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided, as equally as may be, into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year; of the second class, at the expiration of the fourth year; and of the third class, at the expiration of the sixth year: so that one third may be chosen every second year. And if vacancies happen, by resignation or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

III. No person shall be a Senator, who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a Citizen of the United States; and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

IV. The Vice-president of the United States shall be President of the Senate; but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

V. The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the absence of the Vice-president, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

VI. The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: and no person shall be convicted, without the concurrence of two thirds of the members present.

VII. Judgment, in cases of impeachment, shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honour, trust, or profit, under the United States. But the party convicted shall, nevertheless, be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment according to law.

SECTION IV.

I. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof: but the Congress may, at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

II. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year: and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION V.

I. Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members; and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties as each House may provide.

II. Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings; punish its members for disorderly behaviour; and, with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.

III. Each House shall keep a journal of its proceedings; and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays, of the members of either House, on any question, shall, at the desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

IV. Neither House, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days; nor to any other place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

SECTION VI.

I. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall, in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest, during their attendance at the session of their respective Houses, and in going to, and returning from the same: and for any speech or debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

II. No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office, under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments of which shall have been increased during such time: and no person holding any office under the United States, shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office.

SECTION VII.

I. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives: but the Senate shall propose or concur with amendments, as on other bills.

II. Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States. If he approve, he shall sign it; but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journals, and proceed to consider it. If, after such reconsideration, two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered: and, if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a law. But in all such cases, the votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and nays: and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each House respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress, by their adjournment, prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

III.

III. Every order, resolution, or vote, to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary, except on a question of adjournment, shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, be approved by him; or being disapproved by him, shall be re-passed by two thirds of both Houses, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECTION VIII.

The Congress shall have power,

I. To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises; to pay the debts, and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States: but all duties, imposts, and excises, shall be uniform throughout the United States.

II. To borrow money on the credit of the United States.

III. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes.

IV. To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies, throughout the United States.

V. To coin money; regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin; and fix the standard of weights and measures.

VI. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States.

VII. To establish post-offices and post-roads.

VIII. To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times, to authors and inventors, the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries.

IX. To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court.

X. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations.

XI. To declare war; grant letters of marque and reprisal; and make rules concerning captures on land and water.

XII. To raise and support armies. But no appropriation of money for that use shall be for a longer term than two years.

XIII. To provide and maintain a navy.

XIV. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces.

XV. To provide for calling forth the militia, to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions.

XVI. To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States; reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress.

XVII. To exercise exclusive legislation, in all cases whatsoever over such district (not exceeding ten miles square), as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become

the feat of the Government of the United States ; and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the election of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings ; and,

XVIII. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SECTION IX.

I. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress, prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight : but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

II. The privilege of the writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it.

III. No bill of attainder or ex post facto law, shall be passed.

IV. No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

V. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State, over those of another ; nor shall vessels bound to or from one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

VI. No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law ; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

VII. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States : and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title of any kind whatever, from any King, Prince, or foreign State.

SECTION X.

I. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation ; grant letters of marque and reprisal ; coin money ; emit bills of credit ; make any thing but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts ; pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

II. No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any impost or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws ; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States ;

and

and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress. No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty on tonnage, keep troops or ships of war, in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II. SECTION I.

I. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and together with the Vice president, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

II. Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives, to which the State may be entitled in the Congress. But no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

III. The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President: and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list, the said House shall in like manner choose the President: but in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote: a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and the majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors, shall be the Vice-president. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice-president.

IV. The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

V. No person, except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President. Neither shall any person

be eligible to that office, who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

VI. In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-president; and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-president, declaring what officer shall then act as President: and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

VII. The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected: and he shall not receive, within that period, any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

VIII. Before he enters on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States; and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

SECTION II.

I. The President shall be Commander in Chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States. He may require the opinion in writing of the principal officers in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices: and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

II. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur: and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate shall appoint ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law. But the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

III. The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions, which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECTION III.

He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union; and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient. He may, on extraor-

extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them ; and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper. He shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers. He shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SECTION IV.

The President, Vice-president, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office, on impeachment for, and conviction of treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III. SECTION I.

The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may, from time to time, ordain and establish. The Judges, both of the Supreme and inferior Courts, shall hold their offices during good behaviour ; and shall, at stated times, receive for their services, a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECTION II.

The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made under their authority ; to all cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls ; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction ; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party ; to controversies between two or more States ; between a State and citizens of another State ; between citizens of different States ; between citizens of the same State, claiming lands under grants of different States ; and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens, or subjects.

II. In all cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, and those in which a State shall be a party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations, as the Congress shall make.

III. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury ; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed ; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SECTION III.

I. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

II. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of

of treason; but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV. SECTION I.

Full faith and credit shall be given, in each State, to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may, by general laws, prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECTION II.

I. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

II. A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the Executive Authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

III. No person held to service or labour in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labour; but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due.

SECTION III.

I. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned, as well as of the Congress.

II. The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States: and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SECTION IV.

The United States shall guaranty to every State in this Union, a republican form of government; and shall protect each of them against invasion, and on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V.

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided that no amendment, which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, shall in any manner

manner affect the First and Fourth Clauses in the Ninth Section of the First Article: and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI.

I. All debts contracted, and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States, under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

II. This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the Judges, in every State, shall be bound thereby; any thing in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

III. The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound, by oath or affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

The ratification of the Conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Congress of the United States,

Begun and held at the City of New-York, on Wednesday, the fourth of March, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine.

The Conventions of a number of the States having, at the time of their adopting the Constitution, expressed a desire, in order to prevent misconstruction or abuse of its powers, that further declaratory and restrictive clauses should be added; and as extending the ground of public confidence in the Government will best ensure the beneficent ends of its institution;

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, two thirds of both Houses concurring, that the following articles be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States, as amendments to the Constitution of the United States; all or any of which articles, when ratified by three fourths of the said Legislatures, to be valid, to all intents and purposes, as part of the said Constitution, viz.

Articles in addition to, and amendment of, the Constitution of the United States of America, proposed by Congress, and ratified by the Legislatures of the several States, pursuant to the Fifth Article of the original Constitution.

I. After the first enumeration, required by the Fifth Article of the Constitution, there shall be one Representative for every thirty thousand, until the number shall amount to one hundred; after which the proportion shall be so regulated by Congress that there

shall be not less than one hundred Representatives, nor less than one Representative for every forty thousand persons, until the number of Representatives shall amount to two hundred; after which, the proportion shall be so regulated by Congress, that there shall not be less than two hundred Representatives, nor more than one Representative for every fifty thousand persons.

II. No law, varying the compensation for the services of the Senators and Representatives, shall take effect, until an election of Representatives shall have intervened.

III. Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

IV. A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

V. No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner; nor in time of war but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

VI. The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated; and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

VII. No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment by a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service, in time of war, or public danger; nor shall any person be subject, for the same offence, to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled, in any criminal case, to be a witness against himself; nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law: nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

VIII. In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury, of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law; and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favour; and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

IX. In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved; and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of common law.

X. Ex-

X. Excessive bail shall not be required; nor excessive fines imposed; nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

XI. The enumeration, in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others, retained by the people.

XII. The powers, not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

N. B. By the returns made into the Secretary of State's Office, it appears that the First Article of the above amendments is agreed to by only seven States—the second by only four—and therefore these are not obligatory. All the remainder having been ratified by nine States, are of equal obligation with the Constitution itself.

The defects of this Constitution will be best explained by subsequent events. It is, however, necessary to observe here, that the great defect was the leaving of too much power in the hands of the Governments of the different States; but this evil was not to be avoided. It was the obvious interest of a certain class of men in every State, to resist all changes which might hazard a diminution of the power, emolument, and consequence of the offices they held under the State establishments; and the ambition of another class of men led them to hope to aggrandize themselves by the convulsions of their country, or to flatter themselves with fairer prospects of elevation, from the subdivision of its territory into several partial confederacies, than from its union under one government. The former class were pacified by those provisions which left them in possession of their emolument and consequence; the latter have, ever since the establishment of the new Constitution, been endeavouring to subvert it.

The plan of a Constitution, which Mr. HAMILTON, who was one of the Deputies from the State of New-York, proposed to the Convention, has since been published by his enemies, with a view of destroying his popularity and influence. If the people were not blind, they would perceive that such a Government as that which Mr. Hamilton proposed to form, would

would have prevented all the evils which they have experienced for several years past. The proposition of Mr. Hamilton was as follows :

I. The supreme legislative power of the United States of America to be vested in two different bodies of men : the *one* to be called the Assembly ; the *other*, the Senate ; who together shall form the Legislature of the United States, with power to pass all laws whatsoever, subject to the *negative* hereafter mentioned.

II. The Assembly to consist of persons elected by the people, to serve for three years.

III. The Senate to consist of persons elected to serve during good behaviour ; their election to be made by electors chosen for that purpose by the people : in order to this, the States to be divided into election districts. On the death, removal, or resignation of any Senator, his place to be filled out of the district from which he came.

IV. The supreme executive authority of the United States to be vested in a *Governor*, to be elected during good behaviour ; the election to be made by electors chosen by the people in the election districts aforesaid ; the authorities and functions to be as follows ; to have a *negative* upon all laws about to be passed, and the execution of all laws passed ; to have the direction of war, when authorized or begun ; to have, with the advice and consent of the Senate, the power of making all treaties ; to have the sole appointment of the heads or chief officers of finance and foreign affairs ; to have the nomination of all other officers, ambassadors to foreign nations included, subject to the approbation or rejection of the Senate ; to have power of pardoning all offences, except treason, which he shall not pardon without the approbation of the Senate.

V. On the death, resignation, or removal of the Governor, his authorities to be exercised by the President of the Senate, till a successor be appointed.

VI. The Senate to have the sole power of declaring war, the power of advising and approving all treaties, the power of approving and rejecting all appointments of officers, except the heads or chiefs of the departments of finance, war, and foreign affairs.

VII. The supreme judicial authority of the United States to be vested in Judges, to hold their office during good behaviour, with adequate and permanent salaries ; the court to have original jurisdiction in all causes of capture, and an appellate jurisdiction in all causes on which the revenues of the General Government, or the citizens of foreign nations, are concerned.

VIII. The Legislature of the United States to have power to institute courts in each State, for the determination of all matters of general concern.

IX. The Governors, Senators, and all officers of the United States to be liable to impeachment for mal and corrupt conduct ;
and,

and upon conviction to be removed from office, and disqualified for holding any place of trust and profit. And all impeachments to be tried by a court to consist of the Chief Justice, or Judge of the superior court of law of each State, provided such Judge hold his place during good behaviour and have a permanent salary.

X. All laws of the particular States, contrary to the Constitution or laws of the United States, to be utterly void; and the better to prevent such laws being passed, the Governor or President of each State shall be appointed by the General Government, and shall have a negative upon the laws about to be passed in the State of which he is Governor or President.

XI. No State to have any force, land or naval; and the militia to be under the sole and exclusive direction of the United States, the officers of which to be appointed and commissioned by them.

It was said, that a Government formed on this plan, would have been "a monarchy in every thing but the *name*." This is very true, and America wanted precisely such a Government. The many of all countries stand in need of a monarch, at once to keep them in obedience to itself, and to protect them from the tyranny and rapacity of the aspiring, rich, and avaricious few. The people of America wanted such a protector, but the delusion of the times would not have permitted him to be called a *monarch*.

Pursuant to an ordinance for that purpose, the two Houses of the first Federal Congress, met at New-York, in March, 1789. Having formed a quorum on the 6th of April, they proceeded to examine the returns of the elections which had been held in the autumn of 1788, for the choosing of the PRESIDENT and VICE-PRESIDENT; when it appeared that the former office had fallen to the lot of GENERAL WASHINGTON, and the latter to JOHN ADAMS. On the 30th of April the PRESIDENT met the two Houses, and addressed them in the following speech.

Fellow-citizens of the Senate, and of the House of Representatives,

Among the vicissitudes incident to life, no event could have filled me with greater anxieties than that of which the notification was transmitted by your order, and received on the 14th day of the present month; on the one hand, I was summoned by my country,

country, whose voice I can never hear but with veneration and love, from a retreat which I had chosen with the fondest predilection, and, in my flattering hopes, with an immutable decision, as the asylum of my declining years : a retreat which was rendered every day more necessary, as well as more dear to me, by the addition of habit to inclination, and of frequent interruptions in health, to the gradual waste committed on it by time. On the other hand, the magnitude and difficulty of the trust to which the voice of my country called me, being sufficient to awaken in the wisest and most experienced of her citizens, a distrustful scrutiny into his qualifications, could not but overwhelm with despondence one who, inheriting inferior endowments from nature, and unpractised in the duties of civil administration, ought to be peculiarly conscious of his own deficiencies. In this conflict of emotions, all I dare aver is, that it has been my faithful study to collect my duty from a just appreciation of every circumstance by which it might be affected. All I dare hope is, that if, in executing this task, I have been too much swayed by a grateful remembrance of former instances, or by an affectionate sensibility to this transcendent proof of the confidence of my fellow-citizens—and have thence too little consulted my incapacity as well as disinclination for the weighty and untried cares before me—my error will be palliated by the motives which misled me, and its consequences be judged by my country with some share of the partiality in which they originated.

Such being the impressions under which I have, in obedience to the public summons, repaired to the present station, it would be peculiarly improper to omit in this first official act, my fervent supplications to that Almighty Being who rules over the universe, who presides in the councils of nations, and whose providential aids can supply every human defect, that his benediction may consecrate to the liberties and happiness of the people of the United States, a government instituted by themselves for these essential purposes ; and may enable every instrument employed in its administration, to execute with success the functions allotted to his charge. In tendering this homage to the great Author of every public and private good, I assure myself that it expresses your sentiments not less than my own, nor those of my fellow-citizens at large, less than either. No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the invisible Hand which conducts the affairs of men more than the people of the United States. Every step by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation, seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency. And in the important revolution just accomplished in the system of their United Government, the tranquil deliberations and voluntary consent of so many distinct communities, from which the event has resulted, cannot be compared with the means by which most Governments have been established, without some return of pious gratitude,

along

along with an humble anticipation of the future blessings which the past seem to presage. These reflections, arising out of the present crisis, have forced themselves too strongly on my mind to be suppressed. You will join with me, I trust, in thinking that there are none under the influence of which the proceedings of a new and free Government can more auspiciously commence.

By the article establishing the Executive Department, it is made the duty of the President to recommend to your consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient. The circumstances under which I now meet you, will acquit me from entering into that subject farther than to refer to the great constitutional charter under which you are assembled; and which, in defining your powers, designates the objects to which your attention is to be given. It will be more consistent with those circumstances, and far more congenial with the feelings which actuate me, to substitute, in place of a recommendation of particular measures, the tribute that is due to the talents, the rectitude, and the patriotism which adorn the characters selected to devise and adopt them. In these honourable qualifications, I behold the surest pledges, that as, on one side, no local prejudices or attachments, no separate views, nor party animosities, will misdirect the comprehensive and equal eye which ought to watch over this great assemblage of communities and interests; so on another, that the foundations of our national policy will be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality; and the pre-eminence of free government be exemplified by all the attributes which can win the affections of its citizens, and command the respect of the world. I dwell on this prospect with every satisfaction which an ardent love for my country can inspire: since there is no truth more thoroughly established, than that there exists in the economy and course of nature, an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness, between duty and advantage, between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy, and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity: since we ought to be no less persuaded, that the propitious smiles of Heaven can never be expected on a nation that disregards the eternal rules of order and right, which Heaven itself has ordained; and since the preservation of the sacred fire of liberty, and the destiny of the republican model of government, are justly considered as deeply, perhaps as finally staked on the experiment intrusted to the hands of the American people.

Besides the ordinary objects submitted to your care, it will remain with your judgment to decide, how far an exercise of the occasional power delegated by the fifth article of the Constitution is rendered expedient at the present juncture, by the nature of objections which have been urged against the system, or by the degree of inquietude which has given birth to them. Instead of undertaking particular recommendations on this subject, in which I could be guided by no lights derived from official opportunities, I shall

shall again give way to my entire confidence in your discernment and pursuit of the public good : for I assure myself, that, whilst you carefully avoid every alteration which might endanger the benefits of an united and effective Government, or which ought to await the future lessons of experience ; a reverence for the characteristic rights of freemen, and a regard for the public harmony, will sufficiently influence your deliberations on the question, how far the former can be more impreguably fortified, or the latter be safely and advantageously promoted.

To the preceding observations I have one to add, which will be most properly addressed to the House of Representatives. It concerns myself, and will therefore be as brief as possible. When I was first honoured with a call into the service of my country, then on the eve of an arduous struggle for its liberties, the light in which I contemplated my duty required that I should renounce every pecuniary compensation. From this resolution I have in no instance departed ; and being still under the impressions which produced it, *I must decline, as inapplicable to myself, any share in the personal emoluments, which may be indispensably included in a permanent provision for the executive department ; and must accordingly pray that the pecuniary estimates for the station in which I am placed, may, during my continuance in it, be limited to such actual expenditures as the public good may be thought to require.*

Having thus imparted to you my sentiments, as they have been awakened by the occasion which brings us together, I shall take my present leave ; but not without resorting once more to the benign Parent of the human race,* in humble supplication, that, since he has been pleased to favour the American people with opportunities for deliberating in perfect tranquillity, and dispositions for deciding with unparalleled unanimity on a form of government for the security of their union and the advancement of their happiness ; so his divine blessing may be equally conspicuous in the enlarged views, the temperate consultations, and the wise measures on which the success of this Government must depend.

The Congress now proceeded to create the offices under the Federal Government, and to fix on the amount of the salaries that were to be attached to them. The PRESIDENT'S salary was fixed at 25,000 dollars a year ; the VICE-PRESIDENT'S at 5000. The four principal officers placed under the President, were, a Secretary of the Treasury, a Secretary of State, a Secretary at War, and an Attorney-general. Mr. Hamilton was appointed by the President to the first post, Mr. Jefferson to the second, Mr. Knox to the

the third, and a Mr. William Bradford to the fourth. All the posts were ably filled, except that of Bradford, who was a man of no legal or political knowledge, and had got himself into vogue by mere canting, and by daubing Washington with undeserved praise.

A system of finance was immediately entered on. Laws were passed for imposing duties on imported goods, which, in general, were taxed to a considerable amount. If the people now and then reflected that they had endured eight years of misery and bloodshed, rather than pay a threepenny tax upon tea, they must have been cruelly mortified that these new impositions extended to almost every article of dress and of furniture.

The taxes were, however, necessary. There was a large foreign and domestic debt to provide interest for; and every honest man remaining in the country, whether Whig or Tory, wished to see this interest duly paid. Concerning the domestic debt there was, indeed, some difference of opinion. This debt consisted of the amount of certificates, given by authority of the old Congress, to soldiers and others, in payment for services, or for goods, &c. received for the service of the United Colonies. The holders of this paper, placing little reliance on either the ability or the honesty of the old Congress, had, in general, sold their certificates for a mere trifle. If a discrimination could have been made, it would have been just enough to pay the speculators no more than they had actually paid for the paper; but there were many obstacles to a discrimination; and in short, it was found that the whole amount of the paper must be assumed as a legal debt, on the part of the United States, or recourse must be had to a general sponge, as in the case of the paper (I beg their pardons, it was pasteboard) money.

The

The members of the new Congress themselves; particularly the prudent and plodding men from the eastward, had speculated deeply in certificates. I do not know that they were to blame, especially if they were Tories, who were perfectly justified in thus endeavouring to obtain compensation for the losses and insults they had endured; and when we reflect that those who sold their eight years pay for a few shillings, had earned it in fighting against their King, we cannot possibly feel much regret at their being thus treated. What goes over the devil's back ought to go under his belly. "Rebellion hath had ill luck" in America as well as elsewhere.

The commercial regulations formed a subject of long and animated discussion in the first Congress. Jefferson, who was at that time Ambassador in France, and who was a Frenchman in every thing but the circumstance of birth, had been long seconding, by every means in his power, the projects which the Court of Versailles had formed for supplanting Great Britain in the American markets. This intriguing philosopher was still in France; but he had formed a party in Congress; and by this party, which Madison was at the head of, great efforts were made to enact such commercial laws as would *give France a preference in the trade with the United States*. In short, it clearly appeared, from the deliberations of this Congress, that France had her faction already formed in the country, which faction, aided by the lurking discontents respecting the Federal Government, has, to this hour, kept the country in a state of fermentation.

The Union was, however, going on tolerably well; trade and commerce revived with the establishment of the new Government; public credit was restored; men once more slept in safety, and once more had encouragement to be industrious; the
terms

terms *Federalists* and *Antifederalists*, were fast wearing away, along with the difference of opinion and the party animosity, which had given rise to them; every thing, in short, seemed to promise a long and uninterrupted course of harmony and happiness, when the French revolution began that chastisement, which the Ruler of nations has justly inflicted, and is still inflicting, on a degenerate and impious world.

In their inquiries respecting the causes of national calamities, writers are too apt to leave Divine Providence out of the question, as a something fit only for the contemplation of the vulgar and illiterate; and, if we may judge from the life and conversation of but too many statesmen of the present day, they have forgotten, that it is righteousness that exalteth a nation. The woful experience of the last ten years ought, however, to awaken them from their atheistical reverie.

The joy which the first dawning of the French revolution produced in the United States can hardly be conceived. The vanity of the Americans was highly gratified at the thought of having set the *example* to the most populous and powerful nation in the old world. *Whigs*, or *Republicans* (for they are essentially the same, and only vary their denomination to suit times and circumstances), are as eager to make proselytes as the worst species of fanatics, and are actuated by a motive infinitely more base and wicked. The ranting canting Methodist is sometimes a well-meaning madman. He now and then, indeed, makes use of the cloak of religion for the purpose of fraud or seduction; but, nine times out of ten, he has no other object in view than that of obtaining an easy comfortable living, without manual labour. But the object of the *Whig* is to destroy every thing that is great and noble; to eradicate from the human breast every generous propensity. *Envy*

is his ruling passion. "He is never at heart's-ease, while he sees a greater than himself;" and, as he is generally very little, his life is a continual warfare against rank and authority.

The American Whigs, who scrupled not to rejoice at the murder of their "great and good ally," Louis XVI. expressed their disapprobation of the proscription of La Fayette. But this was a blot scarcely perceptible in the constellation of virtues which the French Republic exhibited. The mad harangues of the National Convention were all translated, and circulated through the States. The enthusiasm they excited it is impossible for me to describe. Some of the monkey tricks of these times will be found recorded in the following volumes; but no one, not upon the spot, can form the most distant idea of the scene which America exhibited from the year 1792 to the year 1796.

The President and great part of the Congress were, however, far from partaking of this enthusiastic ardour. They looked a little deeper into the matter than the people did. They perceived, that the French had already gone beyond the principles upon which their government, their authority, and their salaries, rested; and they were, not without reason, apprehensive, that, as France had followed the example of America, America might follow the example of France. They could not, indeed, venture openly to disapprove of the measures of the rulers of France; but they very wisely resolved to be cautious in giving them their approbation, and to avoid, if possible, joining France in the war against Great Britain, which they knew must terminate in the destruction of the Federal Government, if not of themselves.

Yet, to avoid giving France any aid, and at the same time to escape her hostility, which the people would not, at that time, have resisted, seemed to be

be a difficult matter. The United States, by the treaty of the 6th of February, 1778, had guarantied the French West India islands. The articles run thus :

Art. 11. The two parties *guaranty mutually from the present time and for ever*, against all other powers, to wit, the United States to his Most Christian Majesty, the present possessions of the Crown of France in America, as well as those which it may acquire by the future treaty of peace ; and his Most Christian Majesty guaranties on his part to the United States, their liberty, sovereignty, and independence, absolute and unlimited, as well in matters of government as commerce, and all their possessions, and the additions, or conquests, that their confederation may obtain during the war, from any of the dominions now or heretofore possessed by Great Britain in North America ; conformable to the fifth and sixth articles above-written, the whole as their possession shall be fixed and assured to the said States, at the moment of the cessation of their present war with England.

Art. 12. In order to fix more precisely the sense and application of the preceding article, the contracting parties declare, that *in case of a rupture between France and England*, the reciprocal guarantee declared in the said article, shall have its full force and effect, the moment such war shall break out ; and if such rupture shall not take place, the mutual obligations of the said guarantee shall not commence until the moment of the cessation of the present war between the United States and England shall have ascertained their possessions.

Besides the dilemma which arose from this engagement, there was another arising from the uncertainty of the duration of the French Republic. As soon, therefore, as the President heard, that an Ambassador from the Convention had arrived in the United States, he, in April, 1793, called a council of the principal officers of state, and submitted to them the following questions :

Question 1st. Shall a proclamation issue for the purpose of preventing interferences of the citizens of the United States in the war between France and Great Britain, &c. ? Shall it contain a declaration of neutrality, or not ? What shall it contain ?

Question 2d. *Shall a Minister from the Republic of France be received ?*

Question 3d. If received, shall it be absolutely, or with qualifications ? and if with qualifications, of what kind ?

Question 4th. *Are the United States obliged by good faith to consider the treaties heretofore made with France as applying to the present situation of the parties? May they renounce them or hold them suspended till the Government of France shall be established?*

Question 5th. If they have the right, is it expedient to do either—and which?

Question 6th. If they have an option, would it be a breach of neutrality to consider the treaties still in operation?

Question 7th. If the treaties are to be considered as now in operation, is the guarantee in the treaty of alliance applicable to a defensive war only, or to a war either offensive or defensive?

Question 8th. Does the war in which France is engaged appear to be *offensive or defensive* on her part? Or of a mixed and equivocal character?

Question 9th. If of a *mixed and equivocal* character, *does the guarantee in any event apply to such a war?*

Question 10th. What is the effect of a guarantee, such as that to be found in the treaty of alliance between the United States and France?

Question 11th. Does any article in either of the treaties, prevent ships of war, other than privateers, of the powers opposed to France, from coming into the ports of the United States, to act as convoys to their own merchantmen? Or does it lay any other restraint upon them more than would apply to the ships of war of France?

Question 12th. *Should the future Regent of France send a Minister to the United States, ought he to be received?*

Question 13th. Is it necessary or advisable to call together the two Houses of Congress, with a view to the present posture of European affairs? If it is, what should be the particular objects of such a call?

Philadelphia, April 18, 1793.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

In this council it was wisely resolved to steer a middle course. The war was determined to be a war of aggression on the part of France, and the guarantee was determined not to apply to it. It was resolved to receive a Minister from the Republic, but to enter into no compact against the Royal Family. It was further resolved, to issue a Proclamation of Neutrality, which was accordingly done, in these words:

Whereas it appears, that a state of war exists between
AUSTRIA, PRUSSIA, SARDINIA, GREAT BRITAIN, and the
UNITED

UNITED NETHERLANDS, of the one part, and FRANCE on the other, and the duty and interest of the UNITED STATES require, that they should with sincerity and good faith adopt and pursue a conduct friendly and impartial towards the belligerent powers:

I HAVE THEREFORE thought fit by these presents to declare the disposition of the United States to observe the conduct aforesaid towards those powers respectively, and to exhort and warn the Citizens of the United States carefully to avoid all acts and proceedings whatsoever, which may in any manner tend to contravene such disposition.

AND I DO HEREBY also make known, that whosoever of the citizens of the United States shall render himself liable to punishment or forfeiture under the law of nations, by committing, aiding, or abetting hostilities against any of the said powers, or by carrying to any of them those articles which are deemed contraband by the *modern* usage of nations, will not receive the protection of the United States against such punishment or forfeiture: and further, that I have given instructions to those officers to whom it belongs to cause prosecutions to be instituted against all persons who shall, within the cognizance of the courts of the United States, violate the law of nations with respect to the powers at war, or any of them.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF I have caused the seal of the United States of America to be affixed to these presents, (L. S.) and signed the same with my hand. Done at the city of Philadelphia, the 22d day of April, 1793, and of the independence of the United States of America, the seventeenth.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

A Proclamation of Neutrality was a new thing in the history of the world. This was, however, a very wise step: it was intended to prevent, and it did prevent, GENET, the French Minister, who had just landed, from demanding of the United States a fulfilment of the guarantee, provided for in the treaty of 1778; and, if it failed in that object, it was well calculated to prepare the minds of the people for approving of the refusal, which, if he made the demand, it was resolved to give him. All those who wished well to the Federal Government, and who dreaded the return of war, anarchy, and misery, accompanied with the late French improvements, approved of this Proclamation, on the issuing of which the President received addresses of thanks from all the commercial towns, and from se-

veral of the interior parts of the country. No small number of the addressees were warm in the cause of France: they wished her to destroy all the crowns and all the kingdoms upon earth: it was a glorious crusade, but they did not wish to contribute any thing towards it beyond a toast or an harangue.

Thus prepared, the President, with great calmness, waited the arrival of GENET, who, on his part, expected to have the sole command of the country in a very little time. He was furnished with instructions to involve the United States in the war if possible, and, at all events, to obtain payment, in advance, of the debt due from the United States to France: the latter he, after some time, accomplished; but in the former he failed.

The attachment of the Federal Government to a pacific system was well known in France. Genet was therefore instructed, in case he should not be able to shake this attachment either by promises or threats, to apply himself to the sovereign people themselves, whose partiality, it had been represented, and with but too much truth, had received a strong bias in favour of the usurpers. In order to pave the way for acting in the last resort, he disembarked at a point the most distant from the seat of Government, that he might have it in his power to act on some part of the people at least, before the sentiments of their Government respecting him and his mission were known: he accordingly landed at Charleston, South Carolina, where he remained caballing for some time, and then proceeded to Philadelphia.

The inhabitants of Charleston, and, indeed, of most parts of South Carolina, were admirably disposed for a warm reception of Genet. Not long before his landing, a proposition had been published for a solemn abolition of the use "of all aristocratical terms of *distinction* and *respect*." The levellers had

had even proposed having an engagement to this effect, printed and stuck up in the market-places, court-houses, &c. for the signature of the *citizens*. In a State where sans-culottism had already made such a progress, the animating presence of the Parisian missionary was all that could be wanted to complete the farce.

The frigate L'Ambuscade, that brought Genet to America, brought also the news of war being declared by France against England. The inhabitants of southern climes have never been famous for their wisdom; accordingly the people of Charleston looked upon a prize which the Ambuscade brought in with her as an earnest of success, and an indubitable indication of French naval superiority.

No sooner was Genet on shore, than he began to exercise his powers as sovereign of the country. He commissioned land and sea officers to make war upon the Spanish and English; he fitted out privateers, and opened rendezvouses for the enrolling of both soldiers and sailors. The French flag was seen waving from the windows in this sans-culotte city, just as if it had been a sea-port of France. Genet was sent expressly to engage the country to take a part in the war; and such was his contempt for the Government, that he did not look upon its consent as a thing worth asking for or thinking about.

The Citizen found more volunteers than he knew what to do with, particularly of *the higher ranks*: Captains and Commodores, Majors and Colonels, flocked to his standard in such crowds, that, had he had a hundred reams of paper in blank commissions, he might have filled them all up in the State of Carolina. Whether these men of high rank and empty purses were encouraged by the confidence they had in the power of the French, or by their own instinctive bravery; I know not; but as to the end they

they had in view, there can be little doubt ; for one of them who was actuated by a love of liberty, there were five hundred who were actuated by a love of plunder. Some of them longed for a dive into the Spanish mines, and, in idea, already heard the chinking of the doubloons ; while others were eyeing the British merchantmen with that kind of savage desire with which the wolf surveys a herd of fat oxen.

After having remained at Charleston from the 9th to the 19th of April, 1793, the *sans-culotte corps diplomatique* marched off for Philadelphia, where it arrived on the 9th of May.

I avoid mentioning the processions, banquets, &c. that attended the Citizen during his journey ; nor should I think it worth while to give an account of his reception at the capital, were I not assured that the civilians of the Rights of Man will hereafter quote it as a precedent in the laws of their ceremonial.

The city had been duly prepared for this famous public entry by paragraphs in the papers, announcing the Citizen's arrival at the different stages on the road. Expectation was kept on tip-toe for several days. The best penmen among the patriots were at work composing congratulatory addresses, and their choicest orators were gargling their throats to pronounce them. At last, on the happy 16th of May, a *salve* from the cannons of a frigate lying in the port, gave notice that the Citizen would soon be arrived at a place called Gray's Ferry, about three miles distant from the city ; thither all the patriotically disposed went to meet him, and escort him to his dwelling. In the evening of the same day there was what was called a meeting of the citizens of Philadelphia, when it was agreed to appoint a Committee to draft an address to him. An address was accordingly prepared, submitted to the sovereign citizens,

zens, at a second meeting, highly approved of, and another Committee, consisting of about half a hundred persons, appointed to carry it up. But I must now avail myself of their own account of the business, feeling a total want of capacity to do it justice.

“ The citizens assembled, expressing a desire to
“ accompany their Committee in presenting the address to the Citizen Minister, two citizens were
“ dispatched to know what time it would be convenient for him to receive it, and they returned in
“ a few minutes with the following report: ‘ That
“ Mr. Genet had expressed a high sense of the compliment intended to be paid him by the citizens
“ of Philadelphia; that he was solicitous to avoid
“ giving them the trouble of another meeting; and
“ that if they would accept the spontaneous effusions of his heart, which, however deficient in
“ point of form, would not be deficient in sincerity,
“ as an answer to the address, he would be happy
“ to receive it immediately, leaving to the ensuing
“ day the ceremony of a written reply.’ The citizens testified their approbation of the Minister’s
“ proposition by *reiterated shouts of applause*.

“ The Committee, headed by their Chairman,
“ and followed by an immense body of citizens,
“ walking three abreast, having arrived at the City
“ Tavern, were introduced into the presence; and
“ after the *acclamations, as well in the house as in the streets*, had ceased, the address was delivered, at
“ the close of which *the house and streets again resounded with congratulations and applause*.

“ Citizen Genet, evidently *affected with the warmth of the public attachment*, thus conveyed,
“ delivered an extemporaneous reply, in terms
“ which *touched the feelings* of every auditor, &c.
“ It is impossible to describe, with adequate energy,
“ the scene that succeeded. *Shouts and salutations*
“ were

“ were not unattended with *other evidences* of the
 “ effect which this interesting interview had *upon*
 “ the *passions* of the parties who were engaged in it.
 “ From the citizens in the room the Minister turned
 “ his attention to the citizens in the street, and ad-
 “ dressed them in a few short but emphatic sen-
 “ tences from one of the windows.”

In this instance we see the sovereign people taking the liberty to act for themselves, while their servants, the officers of Government, stand looking on. What right, I would be glad to know, had the people of Philadelphia, even supposing them all assembled together, to acknowledge any man as a public Minister, before he had been acknowledged and received as such by the General Government? No wonder that this insolent missionary should conceive that that Government was a mere cipher; and many of those who afterwards complained of his appeal to the people, should have recollected that they had encouraged him so to do.

For some time after the Citizen's arrival, there was nothing but addressing and feasting him. It may not be amiss to give an account of one of these treats; the memory of such scenes should be preserved, and often brought into view.

“ On Saturday last a *republican dinner* was given
 “ at Oellers's hotel, to Citizen *Genet*, by a respect-
 “ able number of French and American citizens.
 “ After dinner a number of patriotic toasts were
 “ drunk, of which the following is a translation :

“ 1. Liberty and Equality.

“ 2. The French Republic.

“ 3. The United States, &c. &c.

“ After the third toast, an *elegant ode*, suited to
 “ the occasion, composed by a young Frenchman,
 “ was read by Citizen *Duponceau*, and universally
 “ applauded. The society, *on motion*, ordered that
 “ Citizen *Freneau* should be requested to translate
 “ it

“ it into American verse, and that the original and
“ translation should be published.

“ After a short interval, the *Marseillois's Hymn*
“ was, upon the request of the citizens, sung by
“ Citizen *Bournonville*, with great taste and spirit,
“ the *whole company joining in the chorus*.”—I leave
the reader to guess at the harmony of this chorus,
bellowed forth from the drunken lungs of about a
hundred fellows of a dozen different nations. Who
would have thought five-and-thirty years ago, when
the inhabitants of Pennsylvania were petitioning
King George for protection against the French and
their allies, the scalping Indians, that in the year
1793 the people of Philadelphia would carry their
complaisance to a French Minister so far as to ape
his outlandish howling in the chorus of a murder-
er's song ! But, to proceed with the feast : “ Two
“ additional stanzas to the *Marseillois's Hymn*, com-
“ posed by Citizen *Genet*, and suited to the navy of
“ France, were then called for, sung, and encored.

“ Before the singing of the Hymn, it should be
“ mentioned, that a *deputation from the sailors* of the
“ frigate *L'Ambuscade* made their appearance, *em-*
“ *braced*, and took their seats.

“ The table was decorated with the tree and cap
“ of liberty, and with the French and American
“ flags. The last toast being drunk, the cap of li-
“ berty was placed on the head of Citizen *Genet*,
“ and then it *travelled from head to head* round the
“ table [just as the guillotine has since travelled
“ round France], each wearer enlivening the scene
“ with a patriotic sentiment.

“ These tokens of liberty, and of American and
“ French fraternity, were delivered to the officers
“ and mariners of the frigate *L'Ambuscade*, who
“ promised to defend them till death.”

Thus rolled *Genet's* time away in a variety of
such nonsensical, stupid, unmeaning, childish en-
tertainments,

tertainments, as never were heard or thought of till Frenchmen took it into their heads to gabble about liberty.

On the very day that this liberty-cap feast took place, the Citizen Minister was formally received, and acknowledged in his diplomatic capacity, by the President of the United States. There, indeed, his reception was not quite so warm. He afterwards complained that the first object that struck his eye in the chamber was the bust of Louis XVI.

This silent reproof, which must, however, be attributed to mere accident, stung the insolent Genet to the soul. His resenting it is a striking instance of that overbearing spirit which the rulers of the deluded French have ever discovered. Because they had killed their King, hurled down the statues of his ancestors, and dug their rotten bones from the tomb, they had the presumption to think that the governors of other nations ought to follow the savage example.

But a cold reception was not the rub that Genet most complained of. The Federal Government, informed of his bold beginnings at Charleston, made no doubt that his instructions went to the engaging it in the war. Indeed these instructions were made known from the moment of his landing; and it cannot be doubted but this had influence on the conduct of the Government; for an article appeared in the Charleston papers, the day after, specifying that a report had gained ground, that the Federal Government *must* take a part in the war; and this article made its appearance at Philadelphia on the very day that the President's proclamation was first promulgated.

This wise and determined step Genet's masters had not foreseen; or, if they did foresee it, they were not aware that it would be taken before their missionary could find time to make his warlike proposals. This

was a most cruel disappointment to the Citizen, and completely baffled all his projects. In vain did he endeavour to draw the old General from his ground : neither promises nor threats had any effect on him ; and Genet soon found that he had no hope but in rousing the people to oppose their Government.

A man of more penetration than Genet might have conceived such a project feasible, from the violent partiality that every where appeared towards the French, from the little respect testified for the opinion of the Government, and particularly from the freedom, not to say audacity, with which its conduct, in issuing the proclamation of neutrality, was now arraigned by the partisans of France. Besides, the Antifederal faction began to appear with more boldness than ever. Genet was continually surrounded with them ; and, as they fought for nothing so much as for war, they strengthened him in the opinion that the people would ultimately decide in his favour.

But there wanted something like a regular plan to unite their forces, and bring them to act in concert.

A dinner here, and a supper there, were nothing at all. The drunkards went home, snorted themselves sober, and returned to their employments. It was not as in France, where a single tap upon a drum-head would assemble *canaille* enough to overturn forty Federal Governments in the space of half a night. In America there existed all the materials for a revolution, but they were scattered here and there : affiliated clubs were wanting to render them compact and manageable, as occasion might demand.

Genet did not judge it prudent to give the American Jacobins the same name that had been assumed by those in France : that would have been too glaring an imitation. *Democratic* was thought less offensive, at the same time that it was well adapted to a society of men who were about to set themselves up for the watch-dogs of a Government, which they pretended

pretended was already become *too aristocratic*, and was daily growing more so; but that a Democrat was but another name for a Jacobin no one had the folly to deny, when, afterwards, some of these very clubs were known to send petitions for having their names entered on the registers of the Jacobin club at Paris.

The mother club, in America, met at Philadelphia on the 3d of July, 1793, about six or seven weeks after Genet's arrival in the city, during which space, it is well ascertained, more than *twenty thousand louis d'ors* had been distributed.

As to those who placed themselves at the head of the Democrats, speaking of them generally, they were very little esteemed, either as private or public characters. Few of them were men of property, and such as were, owed their possessions to some casual circumstance, rather than to family, industry, or talents. The bulk of political reformers is always composed of needy, discontented men, too indolent or impatient to advance themselves by fair and honest means, and too ambitious to remain quiet in obscurity. Such, with very few exceptions, are those who have appeared among the leaders of the American Jacobins*.

* The *officers*, as they were called, of the mother club, and who must ever be looked upon (under Genet) as the chief instruments in founding the sect, were;

DAVID RITTENHOUSE, *President*.

WILLIAM COATS, }
CHARLES BIDDLE, } *Vice-Presidents.*

JAMES HUTCHINSON, }
ALEXANDER J. DALLAS, }
MICHAEL LEIE, } *Committee of Correspondence.*
JONATHAN SERGEANT, }
DAVID JACKSON, }

ISRAEL ISRAEL, *Treasurer.*

J. PORTER, }
P. S. DUPONCEAU, } *Secretaries.*

These names should never be forgotten.

The effects of the institution soon became apparent from one end of the United States to the other. The blaze did not indeed communicate itself with such rapidity as it had done in France, nor did it rage with so much fury when it had caught ; but this must be ascribed to the nature of the materials, and not to any want of art or malice on the part of the incendiaries. The Americans are phlegmatic, slow to act ; extremely cautious, and difficult to be deceived. However, such was the indefatigableness of the Democratic Clubs, that I venture to say, without running the risk of contradiction, that more enmity to the General Government was excited in the space of six months, by the barefaced correspondence and resolves of these clubs, than was excited against the Colonial Government at the time of the declaration of independence.

The leading object was to stimulate the people to a close imitation of the French revolutionists, who had just then begun the career of pure unadulterated sans-culottism. Every act or expression that bore the marks of politeness or gentility soon began to be looked upon, to use their own words, as a sort of *leze republicanisme*. All the new-fangled terms of the regenerated French were introduced and made use of. The word *citizen*, that stalking-horse of modern liberty-men, became almost as common in America as in France. People, even people of sense, began to accustom themselves to be-citizen each other in as shameful a manner as the red-headed ruffians of the Fauxbourg St. Antoine.

The news-printers were, in some sort, the teachers of this new cant ; and it was diverting enough sometimes to observe their embarrassment in rendering the French political jargon into English. One of them having a wedding to announce, found himself at a stand when he came to the word *citoyenne*. Our good ancestors had not foreseen these days of equality,

lity, and had therefore never thought of a termination to express the *feminine* of a *freeman*. To say that *Citizen A.* was married to *Citizen B.* would have had a brutal sound, even in the ears of a Jacobin, and therefore the ingenious newsman invented a termination, and his paragraph ran thus: "On ———
 " *Citizen* ——— was married to *Citefs* ——— by
 " *Citizen* ———."

The *citizens* of France had just given signal proof of their patriotic valour, in making war upon the old busts and statues of their kings and nobles; and those of America were determined not to be behindhand with them, as far as lay in their power. Lord Chatham's statue, erected by the people of Charleston, South Carolina, as a mark of their esteem for the part he took in pleading the cause of America, was drawn up into the air, by means of a jack and pullies, and absolutely hanged, not until it was dead, but till the head separated from the body*. The statue of Lord Bottetourt, a piece of exquisite workmanship, which stood in the town-house of Williamsburgh, in Virginia, was *beheaded* by the students of that place; and every mark of indignity, such as ignoble minds can show, was heaped on the resemblance of a man, to whom the fathers of these students had yielded all possible testimony of love and esteem.

The rage for *re-baptism*, as the French call it, also spread very far. An alley at Boston, called *Royal Exchange Alley*, and the stump of a tree in the same town, which had borne the name of *Royal*, were re-baptized with a vast deal of formality: the former was called *Equality Lane*, and the latter *Liberty Stump*.

* A statue of his Lordship was erected at New-York, in gratitude for his opposition to the measures of his Majesty's ministers for reducing the Americans to obedience. But this statue also was *beheaded*, and the materials of which it was composed, the people, in a merry mood, employed in the erection, not of a temple of Fame, but a temple of *Cloacina*!—What a lesson for future *patriots*!

At New-York the names of several streets and places were changed: *Queen Street* became *Pearl Street*; and *King Street*, *Liberty Street*.

Those who were unacquainted with the influence of the Democratic Clubs, were astonished at these marks of political insanity. Indeed, the follies of the French seemed to be wasted over the infant they had birth, and the different districts appeared to vie with each other in adopting them. The delirium seized even the women and children; the former began to talk about liberty and equality in a good masculine style: I have heard more than one young woman, under the age of twenty, declare that they would willingly have dipped their hands in the blood of the Queen of France. A third part of the children, at least, was decorated, like their wise sires, in tri-coloured cockades. "*Dansons la Carmagnole*," pronounced in a broken accent, was echoed through every street and every alley of Philadelphia, by both boys and girls. Some ingenious democratic poet had composed the following lines:

"Englishman no bon for me,
"Frenchman fight for liberty."

This distich, which at once shows the prevailing sentiments, and exhibits an instance of that kind of jargon which was become fashionable, was chanted about by young and old. Poor devils! thought I when I used to hear them, little do you know about liberty!

Nor were marks of ferocity wanting. At a dinner at Philadelphia (at which Governor Mifflin was present) a *roasted pig* became the representative of Louis XVI. and it being the anniversary of his murder, the pig's head was severed from his body, then carried round to each of the convives, who, after placing the liberty-cap upon his own head, pronounced the word

tyrant, and gave the poor little grunter's head a chop with his knife *.

It is just, however, to observe, that a very great majority of the people of America abhorred these demonstrations of a sanguinary spirit; nor would it be going too far to assert, that two thirds of the Democrats were foreigners, landed in the United States since the war. The charge that attaches to the people in general, is, that these things were suffered to pass unreprieved. The friends of order and of humanity were dilatory; like persons of the same description in France, they seemed to be waiting till

* Never was the memory of any man so cruelly insulted as that of this monarch. He was guillotined in effigy, in the capital of the Union, twenty or thirty times every day, during one whole winter, and part of the summer. Men, women, and children, flocked to this tragical exhibition, and not a single paragraph appeared in the papers to shame them from it.—Much has been said about the *cruelty of English sports*, and the *humane* French have now and then stigmatized them as barbarians, for the delight they take in seeing a pair of courageous animals spur each other to death; nay, the charge has been often repeated by Americans; but I defy both French and Americans to bring me an instance of cruelty from the English sports, that will bear a comparison with the exhibition above mentioned.

One cannot think of this exhibition without reflecting on the honours that Louis formerly received on the same spot. On the triumphal arch that was erected at Philadelphia, in 1783, was a bust of Louis XVI. with this motto:

MERENDO MEMORES FACIT.

His merit makes us remember him.

On another part of the arch were the *Three Lilies*, the arms of France, with this motto:

GLORIAM SUPERANT.

They exceed in glory.

When a representation of this triumphal arch was sent to the King of France, what would he have done to one of his courtiers, who should have said to him: "Sire, be not too vain; depend
" not too much on the sincerity of the Americans; for ten years
" from this day they will shake hands with your murderers, and on
" the very spot where this arch was erected, they will murder
" you in effigy; and these lilies, now surpassing in glory, will they
" trample under foot."

the

the sons of equality came to cut their throats; and if they have finally escaped, it is to be ascribed to mere chance, or to any thing rather than to their own exertions.

While the Democratic Societies were thus poisoning the minds of the people, familiarizing them to insurrection and blood, Genet was not idle. He had surrounded himself with a troop of horse, enlisted and embodied in Philadelphia. These were, in general, Frenchmen; and no one can doubt but they were intended to act, either on the offensive or defensive, as occasion might require. This force rendered his adherents bold; they throw off all reserve, and issued their invitations to rebellion with an unsparing hand. The clubs at a distance followed the example, and, in some instances, improved upon it.

As the Democrats increased in strength and impudence, other men grew timid. No one ventured to whisper his disapprobation of the conduct of the French; every one, even of their most savage acts, was applauded; robbery and murder were called *national justice* in America as well as in France. The people, properly so called, were fairly cowed down, and things seemed as ripe for a revolution here as they were in France in the month of July, 1790.

The country was saved from this dreadful scourge by the hasty indiscretion of the Citizen Minister. The light-headed Frenchman was intoxicated with his success, and conceived that the moment was arrived for him to set the Government at defiance, and call on the people for support. But no sooner had he expressed his intention of "appealing from the President to the sovereign people," than he found he had been too sanguine.

Genet's insolence produced a complaint on the part of the American Government, and this complaint had produced his recall. The corner-stone of

the Jacobin affiliation being removed, every one expected the superstructure to fall to the ground.

But as *Fauchet*, the successor of Genet, trod exactly in his steps, though with a little more caution, the Democratic Clubs made not the least hesitation in transferring their obedience from one Minister to the other. Indeed, all the disciples of the new-light philosophy are made of the same commodious kind of stuff. All that they do is, to ask who directs the storm of anarchy, and they instantly become his ardent admirers, if not his tools. In this respect, no set of beings, I cannot call their men, ever approached so near to the herd of Paris, as did the Democrats of America. One day saw the faction of Brissot exalted to the skies, and the very next saw the same compliments, the very same turgid effusions of patriotic admiration, heaped on their murderers. From the first assembling of the States General to this very hour, every leader, while he continued such, has been the god of those wretches who nowadays style themselves patriots. I have seen a bundle of Gazettes published all by the same man, wherein Mirabeau, Fayette, Brissot, Danton, Robespierre, and Barras, are all panegyricized and execrated in due succession; nor do I yet despair of living to see Bonaparté added to the list. The versatile mob of Paris, who first canonized Mirabeau and Voltaire, and afterwards scattered their remains to the winds; and who, after having given Marat's ugly carcass a place in their temple of Fame, and his name to a city, dug him up, put his ashes into a jordan, by way of urn, and then threw them into the common sewer; this versatile, stupid, and venal mob, does not surpass in either quality, the democratic news-printers in the United States of America*.

The

* I am aware that the Americans will recriminate here, and insist that this description applies, with equal aptness, to the *English* news-

The unremitting exertions of so many turbulent men as were enrolled in the Democratic Societies, could not fail to throw the whole country into a ferment. They did not, however, succeed in producing an open revolt till the summer of 1794, when the people in the *Western Counties of Pennsylvania* were encouraged by them to resist, by force of arms, the law for collecting an excise on home-distilled spirits*.

The

news-printers. Granted, with all my heart ! Not only to *some*, but *nearly* all. There is one PERRY, who publishes in London a paper called the *Morning Chronicle*, who is many degrees lower than Brown or Duane.

Nor are *other* admirers of the French regicides and usurpers less versatile or less base in England than in America. The rough-headed wretches, who *now* gaze with ecstasy on the picture of the murderer of the Alexandrians, would, were he hurled from his throne, join in rejoicing at his fall, in execrating his memory, and in extolling his successor, provided that successor were a republican, an infidel, and a sworn enemy of their country. With shame be it spoken, men of this disposition are not few in number, and are too often found in places where one might expect to meet with sincerity, religion, and loyalty.

* To convince any candid man, that the Western Insurgents were connected with the Democratic Societies, and were, by those Societies, encouraged to take up arms against the Government, there needs nothing more than the following extract from the proceedings of the mother club :

“ At a Meeting of the Democratic Society of Pennsylvania, held at Philadelphia, on the 8th day of May, in the year 1794, and of American Independence the nineteenth ;

“ Resolved, as the opinion of this Society, That the infant manufactories of this country require the fostering care of Government ; and that those articles of domestic manufacture which are proposed, in a Report to the House of Representatives of the United States, to be excised, cannot bear the burden ; and that such a tax will tend to the ruin of many individuals and the impoverishing of the country.

“ Resolved, as the opinion of this Society, That taxation by excise has ever been justly abhorred by freemen ; that it is a system attended with numerous vexations, opens the door to manifold frauds, and is most expensive in its collection. It is also highly objectionable, by the number of officers it renders necessary, ever

The discontents with respect to this law were, indeed, of some standing. The law was passed in 1790, and several petitions and remonstrances had been preferred against it during the years 1792 and 1793. Congress was compelled to begin a system of direct taxation, the commerce having already been overcharged, without producing a revenue sufficient to defray the expenses of Government, and the interest of the national debt. The excise was far from being oppressive in itself, or injurious in its tendency; but it was odious, and it had been rendered so by those very persons by whom it was imposed. The artful misrepresentations, which the leading Whigs made use of to alienate the affections of the Americans from their sovereign, were now brought into operation against themselves. Seventeen years had not effaced from the memory of the people those inflammatory harangues that were made against a three-penny duty upon tea; and if these verbal effusions of sedition had been forgotten, there unfortunately existed printed documents for the complainants to refer to. One of their remonstrances contained this remarkable passage: ‘ If, in our opinion of the nature and consequences of such a system, we have erred, *the error has been taught us by a Congress of the United States*, of which GEORGE WASHINGTON was a member, and which has not been exceeded in wisdom, virtue, or patriotism, by any political body since known to the Union. In the address

ready to join in a firm phalanx to support Government even in unwarrantable measures.

“ Resolved, That we cheerfully concur in the sentiments expressed by our fellow-citizens at a general meeting this evening; and will join in any constitutional measures to prevent the final adoption of the system of excise now contemplated by Congress.

“ By order of the Society,

“ J. SMITH, President pro tem.

“ G. BOOTH, Secretary.”

‘ transmitted

‘transmitted by Congress to the inhabitants of Canada, in the month of October, 1774, it is emphatically declared, “You are subjected to the imposition of Excises, the *horror of all free States*; thus wresting your property from you, by *the most odious of taxes*, and laying open to *insolent tax-gatherers* houses, scenes of domestic peace and comfort, and called the castles of English subjects, in the books of their law”.’

Thus (exclaimed an old Tory, at the time when this remonstrance was presented), thus has WASHINGTON lived to see the very words which he employed to urge the Canadians to rebel against their and his sovereign, made use of to stir up rebellion against himself. “Behold, he travaileth with iniquity, and hath conceived mischief, and brought forth falsehood. He made a pit, and digged it, and is fallen into the ditch which he made. His mischief shall return upon his own head, and his violent dealing shall come down upon his own pate.”

If the old man remembered so much of Holy Writ, of which I much doubt, this denunciation of the Psalmist must have occurred to him on the breaking out of the Western Insurrection. I well remember hearing him deliver to Congress, the speech in which he detailed the rise, progress, and termination of the revolt*. Shame seemed to have no small share in his feelings; and when he came to name the particular counties that had revolted, which, unfortunately, were those of WASHINGTON and FAYETTE, he faltered, and trembled like a criminal reading his confession. What a train of ideas must those names, pronounced on such an occasion, have excited in the minds of his hearers! At that moment what would he not have given to wipe away the remembrance of his deeds?

* Vol. ii. p. 158.

But though the western discontents certainly owed their rise to those principles, which were inculcated during the rebellion against the mother-country, they probably never would have produced an open insurrection, had it not been for the encouragement the malcontents received from the Democratic Societies. By means of this affiliation, they conveyed their pretended grievances to every corner of the Union, whence they instantly received assurances of aid and support from the clubs; and thus prompted, they at last, after two years spent in resolves, remonstrances, and threats, took up arms against the Government, following, in all things, the precepts and example of those who had first taught them *the holy right of insurrection* *.

* For an account of the progress and termination of the Insurrection, see WESTERN INSURRECTION, vol. i.

Mr. Jay's mission to England has been purposely omitted in this Summary, as it is fully treated of in the subsequent facts, particularly the Proceedings relative to the British Treaty, vol. ii. p. 233; and in a Little Plain English, vol. ii. p. 281.

ADDRESSES

ADDRESSES

TO

DOCTOR PRIESTLEY.

WHILE the Infurrection in the Western Counties of Pennsylvania was upon the point of breaking out, Doctor Priestley arrived in America, and added one more to the partisans of France. Upon his arrival he was addressed by several Societies of scoundrels, under various denominations. But before I insert the addresses, which he received in America, I must give a place to one that was delivered to him upon his leaving Europe.

The Society of United Irishmen of Dublin, to Joseph Priestley, L. L. D.

SIR,

Suffer a Society which has been calumniated as devoid of all sense of religion, law, or morality, to sympathize with one whom calumny of a similar kind is about to drive from his native land, a land which he has adorned and enlightened in almost every branch of liberal literature and of useful philosophy. The emigration of Doctor Priestley will form a striking historical fact, by which alone future ages will learn to estimate truly the temper of the present times.—Your departure will not only give evidence of the injury which philosophy and literature have received in your person, but will prove that accumulation

mulation of petty disquietudes, which has robbed your life of its zest and enjoyment ; for, at your age, no one would willingly embark on such a voyage ; and sure we are, it was your own wish and prayer, to be buried in your native country, which contains the dust of your old friends, Saville, Price, Jebb, and Fothergill. But be cheerful, dear Sir ; you are going to a happier world—the world of Washington and Franklin,

In idea, we accompany you. We stand near you while you are setting sail. We watch your eyes that linger on the white cliffs, and we hear the patriarchal blessing which your soul pours out on the land of your nativity, the aspiration that ascends to God for its peace, its freedom, and its prosperity. Again do we participate in your feelings on first beholding nature in her noblest scenes and grandest features, on finding man busied in rendering himself worthy of nature ; but more than all, on contemplating with philosophic prescience, the coming period when those vast inland seas shall be shadowed with sails, when the St. Lawrence and Mississippi shall stretch forth their arms to embrace the continent in a great circle of interior navigation ; when the Pacific Ocean shall pour into the Atlantic ; when man will become more precious than fine gold, and when his ambition shall be to subdue the elements, not to subjugate his fellow-creatures, to make fire, water, earth, and air, obey his bidding, but to leave the pure ethereal mind, as the sole thing in nature free and incoercible.

Happy indeed would it be, were men in power to recollect this quality of the human mind. Suffer us to give them an example from a science of which you are a mighty master ; that attempts to fix the element of mind, only increase its activity, and that to calculate what may be from what has been, is a very dangerous deceit. Were all the saltpetre in India monopolized,

monopolized, this would only make chemical researches more ardent and successful. The chalky earths would be searched for it, and nitre-beds would be made in every cellar and every stable. Did not that prove sufficient, the genius of chemistry would find in a new salt a substitute for nitre, or a power superior to it. It requires greater genius than Mr. Pitt seems to possess, to know the wonderful resources of mind, when patriotism animates philosophy, and all the arts and sciences are put under a state of requisition, when the attention of a whole scientific people is bent to multiplying the means and instruments of destruction, and when philosophy rises in a mass to drive on the wedge of war. A black powder has changed the military art, and, in a great degree, the manners of mankind. Why may not the same science which produced it produce another powder, which, inflamed under a certain compression, might impel the air, so as to shake down the strongest towers, and scatter destruction?

But you are going to a country of science, that is turned to better uses. Your change of place will give room for the matchless activity of your genius; and you will take a sublime pleasure in bestowing on Britain the benefit of your future discoveries. As matter changes its form, but not a particle is ever lost, so the principles of virtuous minds are equally imperishable; and your change of situation may even render truth more operative, knowledge more productive, and, in the event, liberty itself more universal. Wasted by the wind, or tost by the waves, the seed that is here thrown out as dead, there shoots up and flourishes. It is probable that emigration to America, from the first settlement downward, has not only served the cause of general liberty, but will eventually and circuitously serve it even in Britain. What mighty events have arisen from that germ which might once have been supposed to be lost for
ever

ever in the woods of America, but thrown upon the bosom of nature! the breath of God revived it, and the world has gathered its fruits.

Even Ireland has contributed her share to the liberties of America; and while purblind statesmen were happy to get rid of the stubborn Presbyterians of the North, they little thought that they were serving a good cause in another quarter.—Yes! the volunteers of Ireland still live—they live across the Atlantic. Let this idea animate us in our sufferings; and may the pure principles and genuine lustre of the British constitution, reflected from their coasts, penetrate into our cells and dungeons!

Farewell, great and good man! great by your mental powers, by your multiplied literary labours, but greater still by those household virtues which form the only security for public conduct, by those mild and gentle qualities, which, far from being averse to, are most frequently attended with severe and inflexible patriotism, rising like an oak above a modest mansion.—Farewell—but before you go, we beseech a portion of your parting prayer to the Author of good, for Archibald Hamilton Rowan, the pupil of Jebb, our brother, now suffering imprisonment, and for all those who have suffered, and are about to suffer in the same cause—the cause of impartial and adequate representation—the cause of the constitution. Pray to the best of Beings for Muir, Palmer, Skirving, Margarot, and Gerald, who are now, or will shortly be, crossing, like you, the bleak ocean, but to a barbarous land! pray that they may be animated with the same spirit which, in the days of their fathers, triumphed at the stake, and shone in the midst of flames! Melancholy indeed it is, that the mildest and most humane of all religions should have been so perverted as to hang or burn men in order to keep them of one faith.

It is equally melancholy, that the most deservedly extolled

extolled of civil constitutions should recur to similar modes of coercion, and that hanging and burning are not now employed, principally because measures apparently milder are considered as more effectual. Farewell ! soon may you embrace your sons on the American shore, and Washington take you by the hand, and the shade of Franklin look down with calm delight on the first statesman of the age extending his protection to its first philosopher*.

Dublin, March 28, 1794.

Tammany

* The following article appeared in the American papers just after the Doctor's landing :

“ An elegant silver ink-stand, with the following inscription, was presented to Doctor Priestley, by three young gentlemen of the University of Cambridge.

“ *To Joseph Priestley, L.L. D. &c. on his departure into exile, from a few Members of the University of Cambridge, who regret that this expression of their esteem should be occasioned by the ingratitude of their country.*”

The following Address is also worth preserving :

Address from the Sheffield Constitutional Society, transmitted to Mr. Moffat, Solicitor for Messrs. Muir and Palmer, which he presented to Messrs. Muir, Palmer, Skirving, and Margarot, on board the Surprise transport, bound for Botany Bay.

To Messrs. Muir, Palmer, Skirving, and Margarot.

“ GENEROUS PATRIOTS,

“ The Sheffield Constitutional Society approaches you with veneration. This letter comes not fraught with pity, condolence, and consolation ; no, our pity we reserve for your persecutors, condolence and consolation we need for ourselves : our loss is greater than yours. You are only banished from a country, which, however dear, is unworthy of you ; we are deprived of your abilities, of your virtues, and of your examples ; and though you be doomed to sweat under the yoke of bondage, are our chains less galling than yours, because the name of liberty is branded on the hooks ?

“ At this mournful moment of separation, we sympathize, though we feel your sufferings. Yet pardon us : we weep not for you, but for ourselves, for our children, for our orphan country, thus suddenly deprived, by a tyrannical decree, of four of its fathers, at one rending pang. Our hearts are too full to say much : your comforts repose within the sanctuaries of your own bosoms, secure from the reach of all the tyrants of earth and hell.

“ May the great Father of Mercies stretch forth his omnipotent arm,

Tammany Society of New-York.

Monday evening the Committee appointed by the TAMMANY SOCIETY to address their congratulations, &c. to the Rev. JOSEPH PRIESTLEY, having reported their Address, and his answer thereto, and that the first opportunity had been taken to wait on him agreeably to their direction, the Society resolved unanimously the publication of their Report.

To the Rev. Joseph Priestley, L. L. D.

A numerous body of freemen, who associate to cultivate among them the love of liberty and the en-

arm, to guard you across the pathless ocean! may he send his angel to prepare your way, in the bleak and inhospitable regions, whither you are bound! and oh, if it be his sovereign pleasure, may that guardian angel, and that omnipotent arm, soon, soon restore you triumphant to your regenerated country!

“Our prayers, our thanks, our hearts, attend you; forget not us, but frequently, when the cruel toils of the day are over, in the cool of the evening, as you wander together, conversing, or meditate alone on the melancholy shores of New-Holland, turn your affectionate eyes towards the land of your nativity, and bless your unfortunate country. Then, among other dear friends, and tender connexions, which bleeding memory will renew, remember your humble followers, your younger brethren, the patriots of Sheffield. Farewell.

“ (Signed by order of the Committee of the Sheffield Constitutional Society,)

“ WILLIAM BROMHEAD, Secretary.”

To the Members of the Constitutional Society of Sheffield.

“ Permit me to express my sense of the honour you have conferred upon me. Next to the peace of my own conscience, do I regard the approbation of my fellow-citizens. That by my humble exertions in the cause of freedom I have attracted some portion of notice from men who aspire to be free, under every form of suffering, shall be my consolation and my pride.

“ That you, in co-operation with virtuous citizens, may accomplish a reform in the representation of the people in Parliament, is my ardent prayer; for in this object alone, under Divine Providence, do I behold what can save this nation from the horrors of oppression, of anarchy, and of blood.

“ 16th March, 1794, *Surprise Transport,*
for Botany Bay.”

THOMAS MUIR.

joyment

joyment of the happy republican government under which they live, and who, for several years, have been known in this city by the name of Tammany Society, have deputed us a Committee, to express to you their pleasure and congratulations on your safe arrival in this country.

Their venerable ancestors escaped, as you have done, from the persecutions of intolerance, bigotry, and despotism; and they would deem themselves an unworthy progeny, were they not highly interested in your safety and happiness.

It is not alone because your various useful publications evince a life devoted to literature, and the industrious pursuit of knowledge; not only because your numerous discoveries in nature are so efficient to the progression of human happiness; but they have long known you to be the friend of mankind, and, in defiance of calumny and malice, an assertor of the rights of conscience, and the champion of civil and religious liberty.

They have learned with regret and indignation the abandoned proceedings of those spoilers who destroyed your house and goods, ruined your philosophical apparatus and library, committed to the flames your manuscripts, pried into the secrets of your private papers, and, in their barbarian fury, put your life itself in danger. They heard you also, with exalted benevolence, return unto them " blessings for curses;" and while you thus exemplified the undaunted integrity of the patriot, the mild and forbearing virtues of the Christian, they hailed you victor in this magnanimous triumph over your enemies.

You have fled from the rude arm of violence, from the flames of bigotry, from the rod of lawless power; and you shall find refuge in the bosom of freedom, of peace, and of Americans.

You have left your native land, a country, doubt-
less,

less, ever dear to you ; a country for whose improvement in virtue and knowledge you have long disinterestedly laboured, for which its rewards are ingratitude, injustice, and banishment ; a country, although now presenting a prospect frightful to the eye of humanity, yet once the nurse of science, of arts, of heroes, and of freemen ; a country which, although at present apparently self-devoted to destruction, we fondly hope may yet tread back the steps of infamy and ruin, and once more rise conspicuous among the free nations of the earth.

In this advanced period of your life, when nature demands the sweets of tranquillity, you have been constrained to encounter the tempestuous deep, to risk disappointed prospects in a foreign land, to give up the satisfactions of domestic quiet, to tear yourself from the friends of your youth, from a numerous acquaintance, who revere and love you, and will long deplore your loss.

We enter, Sir, with emotion and sympathy into the numerous sacrifices you must have made to an undertaking which so eminently exhibits our country as an asylum for the persecuted and oppressed ; and into those regretful sensibilities your heart experienced when the shores of your native land were lessening to your view.

Alive to the impressions of this occasion, we give you a warm and hearty welcome into these United States ; we trust a country worthy of you, where Providence has unfolded a scene as new as it is august, as felicitating as it is unexampled. The enjoyment of liberty, with but one disgraceful exception, pervades every class of citizens. A catholic and sincere spirit of toleration regulates society, which rises into zeal when the sacred rights of humanity are invaded. And there exists a sentiment of free and candid inquiry, which disdains the shackles

of tradition, promising a rich harvest of improvement, and the glorious triumph of truth.

We hope, Sir, that the great Being, whose laws and works you have made the study of your life, will smile upon and bless you, restore you to every domestic and philosophical enjoyment, prosper you in every undertaking beneficial to mankind, render you, as you have been of your own, the ornament of this country, and crown you at last with immortal felicity and honour *.

To the Members of the Tammany Society of New-York.

GENTLEMEN,

I think myself greatly honoured, flying as I do from ill treatment in my native country, on account of my attachment to the cause of civil and religious liberty, to be received with the congratulations of “ a society of freemen associated to cultivate the love of liberty and the enjoyment of a happy republican Government.”

Happy would our venerable ancestors, as you justly call them, have been to have found America such a retreat for them as it is to me, when they were driven hither ; but happy has it proved to me, and happy will it be for the world, that, in the wise and benevolent order of Providence, abuses of power are ever destructive of itself and favourable to liberty. Their strenuous exertions and yours now give me that asylum which, at my time of life, is peculiarly grateful to me, who only wish to continue unmolested those pursuits of various literature to which, without having ever entered into any political connexions, my life has been devoted.

I join you in viewing with regret the unfa-

* The Tammany Society was, as it still is, composed of about forty poor rogues, and about three rich fools.

vourable prospect of Great Britain, formerly, as you say, the nurse of science and of freemen; and wish with you, that the unhappy delusion that country is now under, may soon vanish, and that, whatever be the form of its Government, it may vie with this country in every thing that is favourable to the best interests of mankind, and join with you in removing that only disgraceful circumstance, which you justly acknowledge to be an exception to the enjoyment of equal liberty among yourselves. That the great Being, whose providence extends alike to all the human race, and to whose disposal I cheerfully commit myself, may establish whatever is good, and remove whatever is imperfect, from your Government and from every Government in the known world, is the earnest prayer of,

Gentlemen,

Your respectful humble servant,

New-York, June 5, 1794.

J. PRIESTLEY.

Address of the Democratic Society of New-York to
JOSEPH PRIESTLEY, L.L.D. F.R.S.

SIR,

We are appointed by the Democratic Society of the city of New-York, a Committee to congratulate you on your arrival in this country: and we feel the most lively pleasure in bidding you a hearty welcome to these shores of liberty and equality.

While the arm of tyranny is extended in most of the nations of the world, to crush the spirit of liberty, and bind in chains the bodies and minds of men, we acknowledge, with ardent gratitude to the great Parent of the universe, our singular felicity in living in a land where reason has successfully triumphed over the artificial distinctions of European policy and bigotry, and where the law equally protects

fects the virtuous citizen of every description and persuasion.

On this occasion we cannot but observe, that we once esteemed ourselves happy in the relation that subsisted between us and the Government of Great Britain; but the multiplied oppressions which characterize that Government, excite in us the most painful sensations, and exhibit a spectacle as disgusting in itself as dishonourable to the British name.

The governments of the old world present to us one huge mass of intrigue, corruption, and despotism; most of them are now basely combined to prevent the establishment of liberty in France, and to effect the total destruction of the rights of man. Under these afflicting circumstances we rejoice that America opens her arms to receive, with fraternal affection, the friend of liberty and human happiness, and that *here* he may enjoy the best blessings of civilized society.

We sincerely sympathize with you in all that you have suffered; and we consider the persecution with which you have been pursued by a venal court, and an imperious uncharitable priesthood, as an illustrious proof of your personal merit, and a lasting reproach to that Government, from the grasp of whose tyranny you are so happily removed.

Accept, Sir, of the sincere and best wishes of the Society whom we represent, for the continuance of your health, and the increase of your individual and domestic happiness.

JAMES NICHOLSON, President.

To the Members of the Democratic Society in New-York.

GENTLEMEN,

Viewing with the deepest concern, as you do, the prospect that is now exhibited in Europe, those troubles which are the natural offspring of their forms

of government, originating, indeed, in the spirit of liberty, but gradually degenerating into tyrannies equally degrading to the rulers and the ruled, I rejoice in finding an asylum from persecution in a country in which these abuses have come to a natural termination, and have produced another system of liberty, founded on such wise principles as, I trust, will guard it against all future abuses; those artificial distinctions in society, from which they sprung, being completely eradicated, that protection from violence which laws and government promise in all countries, but which I have not found in my own, I doubt not I shall find with you, though I cannot promise to be a better subject of this Government than my whole conduct will evince that I have been to that of Great Britain.

Justly, however, as I think I may complain of the treatment I have met with in England, I sincerely wish her prosperity; and, from the good-will I bear both to that country and this, I ardently wish that all former animosities may be forgotten, and that a perpetual friendship may subsist between them.

New-York, June 6, 1794.

J. PRIESTLEY.

The Address of the Republican Natives of Great Britain and Ireland, resident in the City of New-York.

SIR,

We, the republican natives of Great Britain and Ireland, resident in the city of New-York, embrace, with the highest satisfaction, the opportunity which your arrival in this city presents, of bearing our testimony to your character and virtues, and of expressing our joy that you come among us in circumstances of such good health and spirits.

We have beheld with the keenest sensibility the
unparelled

unparelled persecutions which attended you in your native country, and have sympathized with you under all their variety and extent. In the firm hope that you are now completely removed from the effects of every species of intolerance, we most sincerely congratulate you.

After a fruitless opposition to a corrupt and tyrannical Government, many of us have, like you, fought freedom and protection in the United States of America; but to this we have all been principally induced, from the full persuasion that a republican representative Government was not merely best adapted to promote human happiness, but that it is the only rational system worthy the wisdom of man to project, or to which his reason should assent.

Participating in the many blessings which the Government of this country is calculated to ensure, we are happy in giving it this proof of our respectful attachment: we are only grieved that a system of such beauty and excellence should be at all tarnished by the existence of slavery in any form; but as friends to the equal rights of man, we must be permitted to say, that we wish these rights extended to every human being, be his complexion what it may. We, however, look forward with pleasing anticipation to a yet more perfect state of society; and, from that love of liberty which forms so distinguishing a trait in the American character, are taught to hope this last, this worst disgrace to a free government, will finally and for ever be done away.

While we look back on our native country with emotions of pity and indignation, at the outrages which humanity has sustained in the person of the virtuous MUR and his patriotic associates, and deeply lament the fatal apathy into which our countrymen have fallen, we desire to be thankful to the great Author of our being that we are in America, and that it has pleased him in his wise providence to make

the United States an asylum, not only from the immediate tyranny of the British Government, but also from those impending calamities which its increasing despotism and multiplied iniquities must infallibly bring down on a deluded and oppressed people.

Accept, Sir, of our affectionate and best wishes for a long continuance of your health and happiness.

(Signed) HENRY POPE, Chairman.

WILLIAM ALLUM, Secretary *.

*To the Republican Natives of Great Britain and Ireland,
resident in the City of New-York.*

GENTLEMEN,

I think myself peculiarly happy in finding in this country so many persons of sentiments similar to my own, some of whom have probably left Great Britain or Ireland on the same account, and to be so cheerfully welcomed by them on my arrival. You have already had experience of the difference between the Governments of the two countries, and, I doubt not, have seen sufficient reason to give the decided preference that you do to that of this. There all liberty of speech and of the press, as far as politics are concerned, is at an end, and the spirit of intolerance in matters of religion is almost as high as in the times of the Stuarts. Here, having no countenance from Government, whatever may remain of this spirit from the ignorance and consequent bigotry of former times, it may be expected soon to die away; and on all subjects whatever, every man enjoys the invaluable liberty of speaking and writing whatever he pleases.

The wisdom and happiness of republican govern-

* Above one half of this Society had escaped from the hands of justice in England, Ireland, and Scotland. Some of them were convicts.

ments, and the evils resulting from hereditary monarchical ones, cannot appear in a stronger light to you than they do to me. We need only look to the present state of Europe, and of America; to be fully satisfied in this respect.

The former will easily reform themselves; and, among other improvements, I am persuaded will be the removal of that vestige of servitude to which you allude, as it so ill accords with the spirit of equal liberty, from which the rest of the system has flowed; whereas no material reformation of the many abuses to which the latter are subject, it is to be feared, can be made without violence and confusion.

I congratulate you, Gentlemen, as you do me, on our arrival in a country in which men who wish well to their fellow-citizens, and use their best endeavours to render them the most important services, men who are an honour to human nature, and to any country, are in no danger of being treated like the worst of felons, as is now the case in Great Britain.

Happy should I think myself in joining with you in welcoming to this country every friend of liberty who is exposed to danger from the tyranny of the British Government, and who, while they continue under it, must expect to share in those calamities which its present infatuation must, sooner or later, bring upon it. But let us all join in supplication to the great Parent of the universe, that, for the sake of the many excellent characters in our native country, its Government may be reformed, and the judgments impending over it prevented.

New-York, June 13, 1794.

J. PRIESTLEY.



*Address of the Medical Society of the State of
New-York.*

Permit us, Sir, to wait upon you with an offering of our sincere congratulations on your safe arrival with your lady and family in this happy country, and to express our real joy in receiving among us a gentleman whose labours have contributed so much to the diffusion and establishment of civil and religious liberty, and whose deep researches into the true principles of natural philosophy have derived so much improvement and real benefit, not only to the sciences of chemistry and medicine, but to various other arts, all of which are necessary to the ornament and utility of human life.

May you, Sir, possess and enjoy, *here*, uninterrupted contentment and happiness, and may your valuable life be continued a farther blessing to mankind.

(By Order) JOHN CHARLTON, President*.

Dr Joseph Priestley, L.L.D. and F.R.S.

New-York, 13th June, 1794.

To the Members of the Medical Society in New-York.

GENTLEMEN,

I think myself greatly honoured in being congratulated on my arrival in this country by a society of persons whose studies bear some relation to my own. To continue, without fear of molestation, on account of any *sentiments*, civil or religious, those pursuits which you are sensible have for their object the advantage of all mankind (being, as you justly observed, "necessary to the ornament and utility of

* The word *here*, put in italics, in this Address, is meant to insinuate that the Doctor could not enjoy *uninterrupted* happiness in England. It is proper to remark, that the New-York Medical Society is composed of a set of ignorant quacks.

human life"), is my principal motive for leaving a country in which that tranquillity and sense of security, which scientific pursuits require, cannot be had; and I am happy to find here persons who are engaged in the same pursuits, and who have the just sense that you discover of their truly enviable situation.

New-York, 13th June, 1794.

J. PRIESTLEY.

Address of the Philosophical Society at Philadelphia.

To JOSEPH PRIESTLEY, L.L.D. &c.

The American Philosophical Society, held at Philadelphia, for promoting useful knowledge, offer you their sincere congratulations on your safe arrival in this country. Associated for the purposes of extending and disseminating those improvements in the sciences and the arts which most conduce to the substantial happiness of man, the Society felicitate themselves and their country, that your talents and virtues have been transferred to this Republic. Considering you as an illustrious member of this institution, your colleagues anticipate your aid, in zealously promoting the objects which unite them; as a virtuous man, possessing eminent and useful acquirements, they contemplate with pleasure the accession of such worth to the American Commonwealth; and looking forward to your future character of a citizen of this your adopted country, they rejoice in greeting, as such, an enlightened republican.

In this free and happy country, those unalienable rights which the Author of Nature committed to man as a sacred deposit have been secured. Here we have been enabled, under the favour of Divine Providence, to establish a Government of laws and not of men; a Government which secures to its citizens equal rights and equal liberty, and which offers an
asylum

asylum to the good, to the persecuted, and to the oppressed of other climes.

May you long enjoy every blessing which an elevated and highly cultivated mind, a pure conscience, and a free country, are capable of bestowing.

By order of the Society,

DAVID RITTENHOUSE, President *.

Philadelphia, June 20, 1794.

To the Members of the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia.

GENTLEMEN,

It is with peculiar satisfaction that I receive the congratulations of my brethren of the Philosophical Society in this city on my arrival in this country. It is, in great part, for the sake of pursuing our common studies without molestation, though, for the present, you will allow, with far less advantage, that I left my native country, and have come to America; and a society of philosophers who will have no objections to a person on account of his political or religious sentiments, will be as grateful as it will be new to me. My past conduct, I hope, will show that you may depend upon my *zeal* in promoting the valuable objects of your institution; but you must not flatter yourselves, or me, with supposing that, at my time of life, and with the inconvenience attending a new and uncertain settlement, I can be of much service to it.

I am confident, however, from what I have already seen of the spirit of the people of this country, that it will soon appear that republican governments,

* This RITTENHOUSE was an atheist, and President of the Democratic Society of Philadelphia; *how much he received a year from France is not precisely known.* The American Philosophical Society is composed of a nest of such wretches as hardly ever met together before: it is impossible to find words to describe their ignorance or their baseness.

in which every obstruction is removed to the exertions of all kinds of talents, will be far more favourable to science and the arts than any monarchical government has ever been. The patronage to be met with there is ever capricious, and as often employed to bear down merit as to promote it, having for its real object not science, or any thing useful to mankind, but the mere reputation of the patron, who is seldom any judge of science; whereas a *public*, which neither flatters, nor is to be flattered, will not fail in due time to distinguish true merit, and to give every encouragement that is proper to be given in the case *. Besides, by opening, as you generously do, “an asylum to the persecuted and oppressed of all climes,” you will, in addition to your own native stock, soon receive a large accession of every kind of merit, philosophical not excepted, whereby you will do yourselves great honour, and secure the most permanent advantage to the community.

Philadelphia, June 21, 1794.

J. PRIESTLEY.

Soon after DOCTOR PRIESTLEY landed at New-York, he proceeded on to Philadelphia, where the first mortification he met with was *General Washington's refusal to see him as a visitor!* The United Irishmen had foretold, that the General would “take him by the hand;” but the General wanted to scrape close acquaintance with no renegado from England, in regard to which country he was, at that time, very anxious to avoid all ground of offence.

The next rebuff the Doctor received was from the

* Granted; and then, Doctor, what is the conclusion? Since you wrote the above (I speak now in 1801), you have applied for place after place, not omitting the Presidency of this very Society, and the *enlightened* nation have refused to give you any appointment or promotion whatever!

Clergy, and from the Ministers of the several sects, not one of whom, the *Universalist* Minister excepted, would permit him to enter his pulpit. The Universalist House was little better than a barn. Thus shunned, even by the Dissenters, the poor old man, under the signature of ANTI BIGOT, made an appeal to the public. I shall here insert three articles, which will serve as a record of his disgrace :

For the General Advertiser.

MR. BACHE *,

In conversation this day with one of the members of the Universal Church, I was pleased to hear the liberality of his sentiments; for although he differed in opinion with Dr. Priestley, he was willing to open the doors of his church to him rather than to any other preacher of the Gospel. How different was this sentiment from that which actuates the sectaries in general of this city, who, so far from opening their doors to this celebrated divine, would rather service were never performed than admit him into their sanctuary! Sentiments so worthy of truth and of Christianity as dropped from this member are entitled to the notice of every liberal mind, and ought to encourage the patronage of every one who wishes a fair and candid discussion of religious opinions. Why should Dr. Priestley be excluded from preaching in every place of worship in this city? If his opinions are heterodox, there can be no danger from them; for the good sense of the people here will detect them; if they are just, why should truth be concealed? Surely the walls cannot be contaminated! It is a proof of remaining bigotry, when a celebrated philosopher and divine is not permitted to deliver his sentiments in a public place of worship, because they are different from those who tenant the church; and it is to be lamented that the Universal Church is not in such forwardness as to afford this opportunity. Probably the funds of the members of that Church may be unequal to its completion; if so, how deserving are they of the assistance of those who are friends to fair inquiry! In a country famed for its freedom and li-

* This BACHE, who was the son of one of Doctor Franklin's bastards, was an avowed atheist.

berality, it is a pity that religious tyranny should exercise any power; and as we have dared to think freely on government, which regards our temporal happiness, let us be equally bold in examining doctrines which regard our happiness in the world to come.

Philadelphia, June 23, 1794.

ANTI BIGOT.

Mr. BACHE,

I am associated with a few friends who have voluntarily engaged to meet together once or twice in a week for the purpose of mutual entertainment and improvement. We have erected, at a considerable expense, commodious apartments for our accommodation, and have hitherto experienced much satisfaction and benefit. Our society, being select, confiding in the sincerity and friendship of each other, and agreed in sentiment and common principles, has enjoyed a considerable portion of happiness in the prosecution of our plan. Under the protection of our excellent Constitution, and the enlightened and liberal spirit of our fellow-citizens, we have exercised the privilege of freemen without intrusion or molestation from others, whom we should by no means envy or impede if they wish to exert themselves as we have done.

However, a troublesome fellow, lately settled in the neighbourhood, has attempted to disturb our tranquillity by his noise and impertinence. He has wished to thrust himself amongst us upon various occasions, contrary to our inclinations and views, as we know him to be but a pestilent fellow, very audacious, and wholly opposed to our general sentiments, principles, and manners. Having been repeatedly baffled in his efforts to attain this object, he, at length, has had recourse to stratagem, and has invited into the neighbourhood one of his friends, of a more respectable character, with whom he imagined we would have no objection to associate, and through whom he expected to find an introduction for himself. This stranger, though a person of learning and decent manners, was, however, accustomed to disputation, and his general principles were extremely dissimilar from those which we had adopted long before, after a careful examination. As we had sufficiently known the peculiarities of the learned gentleman from his publications, and did not choose to have our friendly and social meeting disturbed by new discussions, or turned into scenes of disputation

putation and confusion, and thus wholly perverted from their original purpose, we did not give him any invitation to take a part in our assemblies. We treated him civilly indeed, according to our usual habit, with regard to strangers; but we encouraged no intimacy; we made no advances towards a close correspondence. Upon this disappointment our fractious neighbour, who, as I have said, hoped to get admission for himself under his friend's cloak, and to have been amused with a "fair and candid discussion of certain opinions," began to be insolent, and to bluster and defame us in the newspapers as "bigots and tyrants, and sectaries, and enemies to free inquiry." Now, would you think it Mr. Bache, this fellow, with the heart of a bigot in favour of mischief and altercation, and the arrogance of a tyrant who would infringe upon the rights and peaceable pursuits of his neighbours, has had the impudence to style himself Anti Bigot, and throw dirt at us in the manner which has already been stated?

This, Sir, is a plain and unadorned narrative of our present situation and embarrassment; and what are we to do in such a case? As we wish for nothing but the liberty of pursuing our own happiness, in our own way, so as not to infringe upon other people, we claim an exemption from the intrusion of other people; we are not willing to yield to such meddlers as I have described. If we let this impertinent proceed in his manœuvres, the whole neighbourhood may be divided by his intrigue; if we let him bawl on, our square will be subject to continual alarms from his noise; and if we stop his mouth with a gag, it will be deemed an outrage upon freedom. We are unanimously of opinion that he deserves some chastisement, and if a majority can sanctify violent measures, as is sometimes asserted, we would not be far wrong to anoint him with tar and sprinkle him with feathers. However, as this, perhaps, would not be consistent with perfect equality, though we could quote good authorities upon the occasion, and as it would be equally contrary to liberty to burn him in effigy, it is thought best to represent the whole matter to our friends and fellow-citizens; and perhaps the general detestation which may be excited against all such intermeddlers may keep him in awe, and preserve the general tranquillity.

Philadelphia, June 24, 1794.

PHILIP PEACEABLE.

Mr.

MR. BACHE,

If abuse can be considered as "*impertinence*," and illiberality as "*audacity*," your correspondent "*Philip Peaceable*" has a paramount claim to them. From the persecuting spirit which *lurks* in his performance, for he seems afraid to unbosom the venom of his mind, I should be disposed to believe that the spirits of Bishops GARDNER and BONNER had again visited the earth, and that, instead of fire and faggot, they had changed their mode of conversion into "*tar and feathers*." To be sure, these are arguments less inflammatory; but the temper which dictated them is only varied by time and circumstances, and not by principle; for had the "*PEACEABLE PHILIP*" lived in the time of Queen Mary, he would have been the rival of those celebrated dealers in human sacrifice. Even at this moment, I have no doubt, from the spirit which he has discovered, that an *auto da fe* would not be an unwelcome spectacle to him, particularly if an "*Anti Bigot*," or "*the stranger*," was to be the victim. What has licensed this pretender to peace to assert that any member of the Universal Church has disturbed "*the tranquillity*" of a neighbourhood by his "*noise and impertinence*?" What "*pestilent fellow*" is there among their members, who wishes to interrupt the quiet enjoyment of religious worship? What has authorized the *dark insinuation* against Dr. Priestley, a man and a philosopher who would do honour to any age, country, or religious profession? What has given birth to the unqualified abuse, to the pitiful threat of *tar and feathers* and *burning in effigy*, but a heart calculated for an *inquisition*, and a mind which considers every thing as blasphemy beyond its comprehension and its belief? Is liberality "*tyranny*?" Is it *tyranny* to say Dr. Priestley ought to be permitted to preach in our churches? Is it a proof of "*mischief and altercation*" to say, that the members of the Universal Church are ready to open their doors to Dr. Priestley or any other preacher of the Gospel? Is it *tyranny*, is it a disposition for mischief and altercation, to search for truth, to listen to both sides of a question? If so, the qualities of things have changed indeed, and what has heretofore been considered as mischievous and tyrannical, will, in future, by every ingenuous mind, be viewed as virtuous and praiseworthy.

Would to Heaven the altars of religion were adorned with more characters like "*the stranger*," who has met with such

indecent treatment! then, indeed, would the empire of true religion exert itself, the empire of charity and philanthropy; for *it is by their fruit ye shall know them*, and not by the empty profession of "PHILIP PEACEABLE," or Philip Religious. The belief of a man depends upon causes not within his own control; but his actions are his own, and for them and them only ought he to be accountable. Let Philip Peaceable and "the stranger" be weighed in a balance, and then see who would be found wanting.

Philadelphia, June 25, 1794.

ANTI BIGOT.

OBSERVA-

OBSERVATIONS
ON
PRIESTLEY'S EMIGRATION.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,
A STORY
OF
A FARMER'S BULL.

INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS

TO THE GAZETTEERS

OF THE

CITY OF PHILADELPHIA.

GENTLEMEN,

WHEN this pamphlet first made its appearance in this city, you all agreed that it might do well enough in the despotic states of Europe; but that it was by no means fit for the meridian of the United States. And you have very lately obliged the public with the copy of a letter from Liverpool, in which you say, the writer observes, that the *Observations on the Emigration of Doctor Joseph Priestley* have been re-published *there*, and that “it is one of the most scandalous publications that ever issued from any press.”

These are rather hard lines, Gentlemen. I do not know what I have done, thus to draw down your vengeance on me. 'Tis true I cannot, like you, take towns and islands as fast as Father Luke takes snuff, or erect a bridge across the English Channel, with as little trouble as some people can the bridge of a fiddle; I cannot put dukes into iron cages, and send them to Paris for mocking-birds, or chop away at the heads of kings and ministers with as little ceremony as if I were chopping a stick of wood; nor can I spread fleets over the ocean, and religion, peace, and plenty,

over a country as quick as a surgeon's 'prentice spreads a plaster. No, Gentlemen, it is your province to perform feats like these; and, if I am not much deceived in my own heart, I am far, very far, from envying you your exalted stations. But, if you are strong, be merciful. Though you are the great Leviathans of literature, you may suffer a poor herring to swim in the same sea: there is certainly room enough for you and me too.

Was it well done, Gentlemen, first to play at football with a poor pamphlet till you were tired, and then turn it into a shuttlecock, and set your devils to knocking it from one hemisphere to the other? Assuredly not; for though the work itself might merit rough treatment at your hands, yet, as it was in print, the natural affection that you must be supposed to bear your typographical brethren, ought to have awakened in you some compassion towards it.

You have had the goodness to inform the public, that this work is neither fit for the meridian of the United States, nor the meridian of Great Britain; but it appears that the public (in this country at least) think otherwise. How the public dare to differ from you in opinion, I shall not pretend to say: but certain it is, that the numerous applications for this pamphlet, have induced me to publish, with your leave, a third edition of it.

To render this edition more worthy the perusal of your Honours than the last, I have made a considerable addition, which I have been able to do, from my being now in possession of some curious facts concerning the Doctor's emigration, which were unknown on this side the water when the first edition was published.

I obey the call for this edition with more pleasure, as it furnishes me with an opportunity of proving, beyond contradiction, many things, which some people have looked upon as very "hazarded assertions,"

and which you, Gentlemen (never the most delicate), have not scrupled to call falsehood.

I cannot conclude this address without praying you to continue me your good offices. If the first edition merited your disapprobation, I am in hopes this will be found to merit it in a much higher degree. If it should be otherwise decreed, if I am doomed to suffer your applauses, I trust, that he who is preparing me the chastisement, will give me fortitude to bear it like a man.

I am, Gentlemen,

Yours, &c. &c.

THE AUTHOR.

OBSERVATIONS ON PRIESTLEY'S EMIGRATION.

WHEN the arrival of Doctor Priestley in the United States was first announced *, I looked upon his emigration (like the proposed retreat of Cowley to his imaginary Paradise, the Summer Islands) as no more than the effect of that weakness, that delusive caprice, which too often accompanies the decline of life, and which is apt, by a change of place, to flatter age with a renovation of faculties, and a return of departed genius. Viewing him as a man that sought repose, my heart welcomed him to the shores of peace, and wished him what he certainly ought to have wished himself, a quiet obscurity. But his answers to the addresses of the Democratic and other Societies at New-York, place him in quite a different light, and subject him to the animadversions of a public, among whom they have been industriously propagated.

No man has a right to pry into his neighbour's private concerns; and the opinions of every man are his private concerns, while he keeps them so; that is to say, while they are confined to himself, his family, and particular friends; but when he makes those opinions public, when he once attempts to make converts, whether it be in religion, politics, or any thing else; when he once comes forward as a candidate for public admiration, esteem, or compassion,

* He arrived at New-York on the 12th of June, 1794.

his opinions, his principles, his motives, every action of his life, public or private, become the fair subject of public discussion. On this principle, which the Doctor ought to be the last among mankind to controvert, it is easy to perceive that these observations need no apology.

His answers to the addresses of the New-York societies are evidently calculated to mislead and deceive the people of the United States. He there endeavours to impose himself on them for a sufferer in the cause of liberty; and makes a canting profession of moderation, in direct contradiction to the conduct of his whole life.

He says he hopes to find here "that protection from violence which laws and government promise in all countries, but which he has not found in his own." He certainly must suppose that no European intelligence ever reaches this side of the Atlantic, or that the inhabitants of these countries are too dull to comprehend the sublime events that mark his life and character. Perhaps I shall show him that it is not the people of England alone who know how to estimate the merit of Doctor Priestley.

Let us examine his claims to our compassion; let us see whether his charge against the laws and government of his country be just or not.

On the 14th of July, 1791, an unruly mob assembled in the town of Birmingham, set fire to his house and burnt it, together with all it contained. This is the subject of his complaint, and the pretended cause of his emigration. The fact is not denied; but in the relation of facts, circumstances must not be forgotten. To judge of the Doctor's charge against his country, we must take a retrospective view of his conduct, and of the circumstances that led to the destruction of his property.

It is about twelve years since he began to be distinguished among the dissenters from the established church

church of England. He preached up a kind of *deism**, which nobody understood, and which it was thought the Doctor understood full as well as his neighbours. This doctrine afterwards assumed the name of Unitarianism, and the *religieux* of the order were called, or rather they called themselves, Unitarians. The sect never rose into consequence; and the founder had the mortification of seeing his darling Unitarianism growing quite out of date with himself, when the French revolution came, and gave them both a short respite from eternal oblivion.

Those who know any thing of the English Dissenters, know that they always introduce their political claims and projects under the mask of religion. The Doctor was one of those who entertained hopes of bringing about a revolution in England upon the French plan; and for this purpose he found it would be very convenient for him to be at the head of a religious sect. Unitarianism was now revived, and the society held regular meetings at Birmingham. In the inflammatory discourses, called sermons, delivered at these meetings, the English constitution was first openly attacked. Here it was that the Doctor beat his drum ecclesiastic, to raise recruits in the cause of rebellion. The press soon swarmed with publications expressive of his principles. The revolutionists began to form societies all over the kingdom, between which a mode of communication was established, in perfect conformity to that of the Jacobin clubs in France.

* This is one of those "hazarded assertions" alluded to in the introductory address. But how is it hazarded? The Doctor says, in his answer to Paine's *Age of Reason*, that "the doctrines of atonement, incarnation, and the trinity, have no more foundation in the Scriptures, than the doctrine of *transmigration*." Is not this a kind of *deism*? Is it not *deism* altogether? Can a man who denies the divinity of *Christ*, and that he died to save sinners, have any pretensions to the name of *Christian*?

Nothing was neglected by this branch of the Parisian *Propagande* to excite the people to a general insurrection. Inflammatory hand-bills, advertisements, federation dinners, toasts, sermons, prayers ; in short, every trick that religious or political duplicity could suggest, was played off to destroy a constitution which has borne the test, and attracted the admiration of ages ; and to establish in its place a new system, fabricated by themselves.

The 14th of July, 1791, was of too much note in the annals of modern regeneration to be neglected by these regenerated politicians. A club of them, of which Doctor Priestley was a member, gave public notice of a feast, to be held at Birmingham, in which they intended to celebrate the French revolution. Their endeavours had hitherto excited no other sentiments in what may be called the people of England, than those of contempt. The people of Birmingham, however, felt, on this occasion, a convulsive movement. They were scandalized at this public notice for holding in their town a festival, to celebrate events which were in reality a subject of the deepest horror ; and seeing in it at the same time an open and audacious attempt to destroy the constitution of their country, and with it their happiness, they thought their understandings and loyalty insulted, and prepared to avenge themselves by the chastisement of the English revolutionists, in the midst of their scandalous orgies. The feast nevertheless took place ; but the Doctor, knowing himself to be the grand projector, and consequently the particular object of his townsmen's vengeance, prudently kept away. The cry of *Church and king* was the signal for the people to assemble, which they did to a considerable number, opposite the hotel where the convives were met. The club dispersed, and the mob proceeded to breaking the windows, and other acts of violence, incident to such scenes ; but let it be remembered,

membered, that no personal violence was offered. Perhaps it would have been well, if they had vented their anger on the persons of the revolutionists, provided they had contented themselves with the ceremony of the horse-pond or blanket. Certain it is, that it would have been very fortunate if the riot had ended this way; but when that many-headed monster, a mob, is once roused and put in motion, who can stop its destructive steps?

From the *hotel of the federation* the mob proceeded to Doctor Priestley's meeting-house, which they very nearly destroyed in a little time. Had they stopped here, all would yet have been well. The destruction of this temple of sedition and infidelity would have been of no great consequence; but, unhappily for them and the town of Birmingham, they could not be separated before they had destroyed the houses and property of many members of the club. Some of these houses, among which was Doctor Priestley's, were situated at the distance of some miles from town: the mob were in force to defy all the efforts of the civil power, and, unluckily, none of the military could be brought to the place till some days after the 14th of July. In the mean time many spacious and elegant houses were burnt, and much valuable property destroyed; but it is certainly worthy remark, that during the whole of these unlawful proceedings, not a single person was killed or wounded, either wilfully or by accident, except some of the rioters themselves. At the end of four or five days, this riot, which seemed to threaten more serious consequences, was happily terminated by the arrival of a detachment of dragoons; and tranquillity was restored to the distressed town of Birmingham.

The magistrates used every exertion in their power to quell this riot in its very earliest stage, and continued to do so to the last. The Earl of Plymouth condescended to attend, and act as a justice of the peace;

peace; several clergymen of the church of England also attended in the same capacity, and all were indefatigable in their endeavours to put a stop to the depredations, and to re-establish order.

Every one knows that in such cases it is difficult to discriminate, and that it is neither necessary nor just, if it be possible, to imprison, try, and execute the whole of a mob. Eleven of these rioters were, however, indicted; seven of them were acquitted, four found guilty, and of these four two *suffered death*. These unfortunate men were, according to the law, prosecuted on the part of the King; and it has been allowed by the Doctor's own partisans, that the prosecution was carried on with every possible enforcement, and even vigour, by the judges and counsellors. The pretended lenity was laid to the charge of the jury! What a contradiction! They accuse the Government of screening the rioters from the penalty due to their crimes, and at the same time they accuse the jury of their acquittal! It is the misfortune of Doctor Priestley and all his adherents, ever to be inconsistent with themselves.

After this general review of the riots, in which the Doctor was unlawfully despoiled of his property, let us return to the merits of his particular case, and his complaint: and here let it be recollected, that it is not of the rioters alone that he complains, but of the laws and government of his country also. Upon an examination of particulars, we shall find, that, so far from his having just cause of complaint, the laws have rendered him strict justice, if not something more; and that if any party has reason to complain of their execution, it is the town of Birmingham, and not Doctor Priestley.

Some time after the riots, the Doctor and the other revolutionists who had had property destroyed, brought their actions for damages, against the town of Birmingham, or rather against the hundred of which

which that town makes a part. The Doctor laid his damages at 4122*l.* 11*s.* 9*d.* *sterling*, of which sum 420*l.* 15*s.* was for works in manuscript, which, he said, had been consumed in the flames. The trial of this cause took up nine hours: the jury gave a verdict in his favour, but curtailed the damages to 2502*l.* 18*s.* It was rightly considered that the imaginary value of the manuscript works ought not to have been included in the damages; because the Doctor being the author of them, he in fact possessed them still, and the loss could be little more than a few sheets of dirty paper. Besides, if they were to be estimated by those he had published for some years before, their destruction was a benefit instead of a loss, both to himself and his country. The sum then of 420*l.* 15*s.* being deducted, the damages stood at 3701*l.* 16*s.* 9*d.*; and it should not be forgotten, that even a great part of this sum was charged for an apparatus of philosophical instruments, which, in spite of the most unpardonable gasconade of the philosopher*, can be looked upon as a thing of imaginary value only, and ought not to be estimated at its *cost* any more than a collection of shells or insects, or any other of the *frivola* of a virtuoso.

Now it is notorious, that actions for damages are always brought for much higher sums than are ever expected to be recovered. Sometimes they are brought for three times the amount of the real damage sustained; sometimes for double, and sometimes for only a third more than the real damage. If we view then the Doctor's estimate in the most favourable

* "You have destroyed the most truly valuable and useful apparatus of philosophical instruments that perhaps any individual, in this or any other country, was ever possessed of, in my use of which, I annually spent large sums, with no pecuniary view whatever, but only in the advancement of science, *for the benefit of my country, and of mankind.*"

Letter to the Inhabitants of Birmingham.
light,

light, if we suppose that he made but the addition of one third to his real damages, the sum he ought to have received would be no more than 2467*l.* 17*s.* 10*d.* whereas he actually received 2502*l.* 18*s.* which was 35*l.* 0*s.* 2*d.* more than he had a right to expect. And yet he complains that he has not found protection from the laws and government of his country! If he had been the very best subject in England, in place of one of the very worst, what could the laws have done more for him? Nothing certainly can be a stronger proof of the independence of the courts of justice, and of the impartial execution of the laws of England, than the circumstances and result of this cause. A man who had for many years been the avowed and open enemy of the government and constitution, had his property destroyed by a mob, who declared themselves the friends of both, and who rose up against him because he was not. This mob were pursued by the Government, whose cause they thought they were defending; some of them suffered death, and the inhabitants of the place where they assembled were obliged to indemnify the man whose property they had destroyed. It would be curious to know what sort of protection this *reverend* Doctor, this “friend of humanity,” wanted. Would nothing satisfy him but the blood of the whole mob? Did he wish to see the town of Birmingham, like that of Lyons, razed, and all its industrious and loyal inhabitants butchered, because some of them had been carried to commit unlawful excesses, from their detestation of his wicked projects? BIRMINGHAM HAS COMBATED AGAINST PRIESTLEY. BIRMINGHAM IS NO MORE. This I suppose would have satisfied the charitable modern philosopher, who pretended, and who the Democratic Society say, did “return to his enemies blessings for curses.” Woe to the wretch that is exposed to the benedictions of a modern philosopher! His “*dextre vengresse*” is ten thousand

thousand times more to be feared than the bloody poniard of the assassin: the latter is drawn on individuals only, the other is pointed at the human race. Happily for the people of Birmingham, these blessings had no effect; there was no National Convention, Revolutionary Tribunal, or guillotine, in England.

As I have already observed, if the Doctor had been the best and most peaceable subject in the kingdom, the government and laws could not have yielded him more perfect protection; his complaint would, therefore, be groundless, if he had given no provocation to the people, if he had in no wise contributed to the riots. If, then, he has received ample justice, considered as an innocent man, and a good subject, what shall we think of his complaint, when we find that he was himself the principal cause of these riots; and that the rioters did nothing that was not perfectly consonant to the principles he had for many years been labouring to infuse into their minds?

That he and his club were the cause of the riots, will not be disputed; for, had they not given an insulting notice of their intention to celebrate the horrors of the 14th of July, accompanied with an inflammatory hand-bill, intended to excite an insurrection against the Government*, no riot would ever have taken place, and consequently its disastrous effects would have been avoided. But it has been said, that there was nothing offensive in this inflammatory hand-bill; because, forsooth, “the matter
“ of it (however indecent and untrue) was not
“ *more virulent* than Paine’s Rights of Man, Mack-

* This hand-bill was disowned by the club, and they offered a reward for apprehending the author; but they took care to send him to France before their advertisement appeared.

“ intoſh's Answer to Burke, Remarks on the Con-
 “ ſtitution of England, &c. &c. which had been
 “ lately publiſhed without incurring the *censure of*
 “ *Government.*” So, an inflammatory performance,
 acknowledged to be *indecent* and *untrue*, is not of-
 fenſive, becauſe it is not *more virulent* than ſome
 other performances, which have eſcaped the cenſure
 of Government ! If this is not a new manner of ar-
 guing, it is at leaſt an odd one. But this hand-bill
 had ſomething *more malicious* in it, if not *more vi-*
ruſent, than even the inflammatory works above
 mentioned. *They* were more difficult to come at ;
 to have *them*, they muſt be bought *. *They* con-
 tained ſomething like reaſoning, the fallacy of
 which, the Government was very ſure would be de-
 tected, by the good ſenſe of thoſe who took the pains
 to read them. A hand-bill was a more commodious
 inſtrument of ſedition : it was calculated to have
 immediate effect. Beſides, if there had been no-
 thing offenſive in it, why did the club think proper
 to diſown it in ſo ceremonious a manner ? They diſ-
 owned it with the moſt ſolemn aſſeverations, offered
 a reward for apprehending the author, and after-
 wards juſtified it as an inoffenſive thing. Here is a
 palpable inconfiſtency. The fact is, they perceived
 that this precious morſel of eloquence, in place of
 raiſing a mob for them, was like to raiſe one againſt
 them : they ſaw the ſtorm gathering, and, in the mo-
 ment of fear, diſowned the writing. After the dan-
 ger was over, ſeeing they could not exculpate them-
 ſelves from the charge of having publiſhed it, they
 defended it as an inoffenſive performance.

The Doctor, in his juſtificatory letter to the people
 of Birmingham, ſays, that the company were aſſem-

* They were, indeed, afterwards given away by the Correſpond-
 ing Society, and other ſeditious clubs.

bled on this occasion “to celebrate the emancipation of a neighbouring nation from tyranny, without intimating a desire of *any thing more than an improvement of their own constitution*” Excessive modesty! *Nothing but an improvement?* A LA FRANÇOISE, of course? However, with respect to the church, as it was a point of conscience, the club do not seem to have been altogether so moderate in their designs. “Believe me,” says the Doctor, in the same letter, “the Church of England, which you think you are supporting, has received a greater *blow* by this conduct of yours, than *I* and *all my friends* have ever aimed at it.” They had then, it seems, aimed a *blow* at the established church, and were forming a plan for *improving* the constitution; and yet the Doctor, in the same letter, twice expresses his astonishment at their being treated as the enemies of church and state. In a letter to the students of the College of Hackney, he says, “a hierarchy, equally *the bane of Christianity and rational liberty*, now confesses its weakness; and be assured, that you will see its complete reformation, or *its fall*.” And yet he has the assurance to tell the people of Birmingham, that their superiors have deceived them in representing him and his sect as the enemies of church and state.

But, say they, we certainly exercised the right of freemen in assembling together; and even if our meeting had been unlawful, cognizance should have been taken of it by the magistracy: there can be no liberty where a ferocious mob is suffered to supersede the law. Very true. This is what the Doctor has been told a thousand times, but he never would believe it. He still continued to bawl out, “The sunshine of reason will assuredly chase away and dissipate the mists of darkness and error; and when the majesty of the people *is insulted*, or they feel themselves

“ themselves oppressed by *any set of men*, they
 “ have the power to redress the grievance.” So the
 people of Birmingham, feeling their majesty insulted
 by a *set of men* (and a very impudent set of men
 too), who audaciously attempted to persuade them
 that they were “ *all slaves and idolaters*,” and to se-
 duce them from their duty to God and their
 country, rose “ *to redress the grievance*.” And yet
 he complains? Ah! says he, but, my good townf-
 men,

“ ———— you mistake the matter :

“ For, in all scruples of this nature,

“ No man includes *himself*, nor turns

“ The point upon his own concerns.”

And therefore he says to the people of Birming-
 ham, “ You have been misled.” But had they suf-
 fered themselves to be misled by himself into an in-
 surrection against the Government; had they burnt
 the churches, cut the throats of the clergy, and
 hung the magistrates, military officers, and nobility,
 to the lamp-posts, would he not have said that they
 exercised a sacred right? Nay, was not the very
 festival, which was the immediate cause of the riots,
 held expressly to celebrate scenes like these? to cele-
 brate the inglorious triumphs of a mob? The 14th
 of July was a day marked with the blood of the
 innocent, and eventually the destruction of an em-
 pire. The events of that day must strike horror to
 every heart except that of a deistical philosopher, and
 would brand with eternal infamy any other nation
 but France; which, thanks to the benign influence
 of the Rights of Man, has made such a progress in
 ferociousness, murder, sacrilege, and every species of
 infamy, that the horrors of the 14th of July are al-
 ready forgotten.

What we celebrate, we must approve; and does
 not the man, who approved of the events of the
 14th of July, blush to complain of the Birning-
 ham

ham riots? "Happily," says he to the people of Birmingham, "happily the minds of Englishmen have a horror for *murder*, and therefore you did not, I hope, think of that; though, by your clamorous demanding me at the hotel, it is probable that, at that time, some of you intended me some personal injury." Yes, Sir, happily the minds of Englishmen have a horror for murder; but who will say that the minds of English men, or English women either, would have a horror for murder, if you had succeeded in overturning their religion and constitution, and introducing your Frenchified system of liberty? The French were acknowledged to be the most polite and amiable people in all Europe: what are they now? Let La Fayette, Brissot, Anacharsis Cloots, or Thomas Paine himself, answer this question.

Let us see, a little, how mobs have acted under the famous government that the Doctor so much admires.

I shall not attempt a detail of the horrors committed by the cut-throat Jourdan and his associates in Provence, Avignon, Languedoc, and Roussillon—towns and villages sacked, gentlemen's seats and castles burnt, and their inhabitants massacred; magistrates insulted, beat, and imprisoned, sometimes killed; prisoners set at liberty, to cut the throats of those they had already robbed. The exploits of this band of *patriots* would fill whole volumes. They reduced a great part of the inhabitants of the finest and most fertile country in the whole world, to a degree of misery and ruin that would never have been forgotten, had it not been so far eclipsed since, by the operation of what is, in "that devoted country," called the law. The amount of the damages sustained in property, was perhaps a hundred thousand times as great as that sustained by the revolutionists at Birmingham. When repeated accounts

of these murderous scenes were laid before the National Assembly, what was the consequence? what the redress? "We had our fears," says Monsieur Gentil, "for the prisoners of Avignon, and for the lives and property of the inhabitants of that unhappy country; but these fears are now changed into a certainty: the prisoners are released; the country-seats are burnt, and"—Monsieur Gentil was called to order, and not suffered to proceed; after which these precious "Guardians of the Rights of Man" passed a censure on him, for having slandered the patriots. It is notorious, that the chief of these cut-throats, Jourdan, has since produced his butcheries in Avignon, as a proof of his *civism*, and that he is now a distinguished character among the real friends of the revolution.

Does the Doctor remember having heard any thing about the glorious achievements of the 10th of August, 1792? Has he ever made an estimate of the property destroyed in Paris on that and the following days? Let him compare the destruction that followed the steps of that mob, with the loss of his boasted apparatus; and when he has done this, let him tell us, if he can, where he would now be, if the Government of England had treated him and his friends, as the National Assembly did the sufferers in the riots of the 10th of August. But, perhaps, he looks upon the events of that day as a glorious victory, a new emancipation, and of course will say, that I degrade the *heroes* in calling them a mob. I am not for disputing with him about a name; he may call them the heroes of the 10th of August, if he will: "The heroes of the 14th of July," has always been understood to mean, *a gang of bloodthirsty cannibals*, and I would by no means wish to withhold the title from those of the 10th of August.

Will the Doctor allow, that it was a mob that murdered the state prisoners from Orleans? or does
he

he insist upon calling that massacre an *act of civism*, and the actors in it the heroes of the 12th of September? But whether it was an act of civism, a massacre, or a victory, or whatever it was, I cannot help giving it a place here, as I find it recorded by his countryman, Doctor Moore. “The mangled bodies,” says he, “were lying in the street, on the left hand, as you go to the *Chateau*, from Paris. Some of the lower sort of the inhabitants of Versailles were looking on; the rest, struck with terror, were shut up in their shops and houses. The body of the Duke of Brissac was pointed out, the head and one of the hands was cut off: a man stood near smoking tobacco, with his sword drawn, and a human hand stuck on the point: another fellow walked carelessly among the bodies with an entire arm of another of the prisoners fixed to the point of his sword. A waggon afterwards arrived, into which were thrown as many of the slaughtered bodies as the horses could draw: a boy of about fifteen years of age was in the waggon, assisting to receive the bodies as they were put in, and packing them in the most convenient manner, with an air of as much indifference as if they had been so many parcels of goods. One of the wretches who threw in the bodies, and who, probably, had assisted in the massacre, said to the spectators in praise of the boy’s activity, ‘*See that little fellow there; how bold he is!*’

“The assassins of the prisoners were a party who came from Paris the preceding evening, most of them in post-chaises, for that purpose, and who attacked those unhappy men while they remained in the street, waiting till the gate of the prison, which was prepared for their reception, should be opened. The detachment which had guarded the prisoners from Orleans, stood shameful and passive

“ spectators of the massacre.—The miserable prisoners being all unarmed, and some of them fettered, could do nothing in their own defence: they were most of them stabbed; and a few, who attempted resistance, were cut down with sabres.

“ There never was a more barbarous and dastardly action performed in the face of the sun.—Gracious Heaven! were those barbarities, which would disgrace savages, committed by Frenchmen! by that lively and ingenuous people, whose writings were so much admired, whose society has been so much courted, and whose manners have been so much imitated by all the neighbouring nations? This atrocious deed, executed in the street of Versailles, and the horrors committed in the prisons of Paris, will fix indelible stains on the character of the French nation. It is said, those barbarities revolted the hearts of many of the citizens of Paris and Versailles, as much as they could those of the inhabitants of London or Windsor. It is also said, that those massacres were not committed by the inhabitants of Paris or Versailles, but by a set of hired assassins.—But who hired those assassins? Who remained in shameful stupor and dastardly inactivity, while their laws were insulted, their prisons violated, and their fellow-citizens butchered in the open streets? I do not believe, that from the wickedest gang of highwaymen, housebreakers, and pickpockets, that infest London and the neighbourhood, men could be selected who could be bribed to murder, in cold blood, such a number of their countrymen.—And if they could, I am convinced that no degree of popular delusion they are capable of, no pretext, no motive whatever, could make the inhabitants of London or Windsor, or any town of Great Britain, suffer
“ such

“such dreadful executions to be performed within their walls.”

No; I hope not: yet I do not know what might have been effected, by an introduction of the same system of anarchy, that he has changed the airy French into a set of the most ferocious inhuman bloodhounds, that ever disgraced the human shape.

From scenes like these, the mind turns for relief and consolation to the riot at Birmingham. That riot, considered comparatively with what Doctor Priestley and his friends wished and attempted to stir up, was peace, harmony, and gentleness. Has this man any reason to complain? He will perhaps say, he did not approve of the French riots and massacres; to which I shall answer, that he did approve of them. His public celebration of them was a convincing proof of this; and if it were not, his sending his son to Paris, in the midst of them, to request the *honour* of becoming a French citizen, is a proof that certainly will not be disputed*. If, then, we take a view of the riots of which the Doctor is an admirer, and of those of which he expresses his detestation, we must fear that he is very far from being that “*friend of human happiness*,” that the Democratic Society pretend to believe him. In short, in whatever light we view the Birmingham riots, we

* Another “hazarded assertion.” Let us hear the Doctor again. “My second son, who was present both at the riot, and the affizes, felt more indignation still, and willingly listened to a proposal to settle in France; and there his reception was but too flattering.” It is useless to ascertain the time of this flattering reception, in order to prove that it was in the midst of massacres; for the revolution has been one continued scene of murder and rapine; but, however, if the reader has an opportunity of examining the Paris papers, he will find that the ceremony took place within a very few days of the time when Jourdan filled the *ice-house* at Avignon with mangled bodies,

can see no object that excites our compassion, except the inhabitants of the hundred, and the unfortunate rioters themselves.

The charge that the Doctor brings against his country is, that it has not *afforded him protection*.—It ought to be remarked here, that there is a material difference between a Government that does not at all times afford *sufficient protection*, and one that is *oppressive*. However, in his answer to the New-York addresses, he very politely acquiesces in the government and laws of England being oppressive also. Would he really prefer the proceedings of a *revolutionary tribunal* to those of a court of justice in England? Does he envy the lot of his colleagues Manuel, Lacroix, Danton, and Chabot? How would he look before a tribunal like that of the Princess de Lamballe, for example? When this much-lamented, unfortunate lady was dragged before the villains that sat in a kind of mock judgment on her, they were drinking *eau de vie*, to the damnation of those that lay dead before them. Their shirt-sleeves were tucked up to their elbows; their arms and hands, and even the goblets they were drinking out of, were besmeared with human blood! I much question if the assassin's stab, or even the last pang of death, with all its concomitant bitterness, was half so terrible as the blood-freezing sight of these hell-hounds. Yet this was a *court of justice*, under that constitution which “the friend of human happiness” wanted to impose on his countrymen! Paine, in speaking of the English Government, says exultingly, and, as he fancies, wittily, “they manage these things better in France.” I fancy, this boasting “representative of twenty-four millions of freemen” would now be glad to exchange his post of deputy, for that of under-shoeblack to the meanest lackey at the court of London! Would he not, with joy,
exchange

exchange his *cachot**, with the reversion of the guillotine into the bargain, for the darkest cell in that very Bastile, the destruction of which he has so triumphantly and heroically sung? His fate is a good hint to those who change countries every time they cross the sea. A man of all countries is a man of no country: and let all those citizens of the world remember, that he who has been a bad subject in his own country, though from some latent motive he may be well received in another, will never be either *trusted* or *respected*.

The Doctor and his fellow-labourers, who have lately emigrated to Botany Bay, have been continually crying out, "A reform of Parliament." The same visionary delusion seems to have pervaded all reformers in all ages. They do not consider what *can* be done, but what they think ought to be done. They have no calculating principle to direct them to discover whether a reform will cost them more than it is worth, or not. They do not sit down to count the cost; but the object being, as they think, desirable, the means are totally disregarded. If the first of French reformers had counted the cost, I do not believe they were villains or idiots enough to have pursued their plan as they did. To save a tenth part of their income, they have given the whole, or rather it has been taken from them. To preserve the life of a person now and then unjustly condemned, they have drenched the country with the blood of the innocent. Even the Bastile, that terrible monument of tyranny, which has been painted in such frightful colours, contained but *two* state prisoners, when it was forced by the mob; and the reformers, to deliver these two prisoners, and to guard others from a like fate, have erected bastiles in every town and in every street. Before the revolution, there

* *Paine* was in prison when this was written.

were only *two* state prisoners ; there are now above *two hundred thousand*. Do these people calculate ? Certainly not. They will not take man as they find him, and govern him upon principles established by experience ; they will have him to be “ a faultless monster that the world ne’er saw,” and wish to govern him according to a system that never was, and never can be, brought into practice.

These waking dreams would be of no more consequence than those of the night, were they not generally pursued with an unjustifiable degree of obstinacy and intrigue, and even villany ; and did they not, being always adapted to flatter and inflame the lower orders of the people, often baffle every effort of legal power. Thus it happened in England, in the reign of Charles the First ; and thus has it happened in France. Some trifling innovation always paves the way to the subversion of a government.—The axe in the forest humbly besought a little piece of wood to make it a handle : the forest, consisting of so many stately trees, could not, without manifest cruelty, refuse the “ humble” request ; but the handle once granted, the before contemptible tool began to lay about it with so much violence, that in a little time not a tree, nor even shrub, was left standing. That a parliamentary reform was the handle by which the English revolutionists intended to effect the destruction of the constitution, needs not be insisted on ; at least, if we believe their own repeated declarations. Paine and some others clearly expressed themselves on this head : the Doctor was more cautious while in England, but, safely arrived in his “ asylum,” he has been a little more undisguised : he says, the troubles in Europe are the natural offspring of the “ *forms of government*” that exist there ; and that the abuses spring from the “ *artificial distinctions in society*.”—I must stop here a moment, to remark on the impudence of this assertion.

tion. Is it not notorious that *changing* those forms of government, and *destroying* those distinctions in society, has introduced all the troubles in Europe? Had the form of government in France continued what it had been for twelve or thirteen hundred years, would those troubles ever have had an existence? To hazard an assertion like this, a man must be an idiot, or he must think his readers so.

It was then the *form* of the English Government, and those artificial distinctions; that is to say, of King, Prince, Bishop, &c. that he wanted to destroy, in order to produce that "*other system of liberty*," which he had been so long dreaming about. In his answer to the address of "the republican natives of Great Britain and Ireland, resident at New-York," he says, "the wisdom and happiness of republican Governments, and the evils resulting from hereditary monarchical ones, cannot appear in a stronger light to you, than they do to me;" and yet this same man pretended an inviolable attachment to the *hereditary monarchical Government* of Great Britain! Says he, by way of vindicating the principles of his club to the people of Birmingham, "the first toast that was drunk was, *the King and Constitution*." What! does he make a merit in England of having *toasted* that which he abominates in America? Alas! philosophers are but mere men.

It is clear that a parliamentary reform was not the object: an after-game was intended, which the vigilance of Government, and the natural good sense of the people, happily prevented; and the Doctor, disappointed and chagrined, is come here to discharge his heart of the venom it has been long collecting against his country. He tells the Democratic Society that he cannot promise to be a better subject of this Government, than he has been of that of Great Britain. Let us hope that he intends us an agreeable

agreeable disappointment ; if not, the sooner he emigrates back again, the better.

System-mongers are an unreasonable species of mortals : time, place, climate, nature itself, must give way. They must have the same government in every quarter of the globe ; when perhaps there are not two countries which can possibly admit of the same form of government at the same time. A thousand hidden causes, a thousand circumstances and unforeseen events, conspire to the forming of a Government. It is always done by little and little. When completed, it presents nothing like a *system* ; nothing like a thing composed, and written in a book. It is curious to hear people cite the American Government as the summit of human perfection, while they decry the English ; when it is absolutely nothing more than the Government which the Kings of England established here, with such little modifications as were necessary on account of the state of society and local circumstances*. If, then, the Doctor is come here for a change of government and laws, he is the most disappointed of mortals. He will have the mortification to find in his "*asylum*" the same laws as those from which he has fled, the same upright manner of administering them, the same punishment of the oppressor, and the same protection of the oppressed. In the Courts of Justice he will every day see precedents quoted from the English law-books ; and (which to him may appear wonderful) we may venture to predict, that it will be very long before they will be supplanted by the bloody records of the revolutionary tribunal.— Let him compare the Governments of these States,

* The common law is the same in both countries. For a comparison between the laws respecting the liberty of the press, see the *Democratic Judge*.

and the measures they have pursued, with what has passed under the boasted constitution that he wished to introduce into England, and see if he can find one single instance of the most distant resemblance. In the abolition of negro slavery, for example, the Governments of the United States have not rushed headlong into the mad plan of the National Convention. With much more humane views, with a much more sincere desire of seeing all mankind free and happy, they have, in spite of clubs and societies, proceeded with caution and justice. In short, they have adopted as nearly as possible, considering circumstances and situation, the same measures as have been taken by the Government which he abhors*. He will have the further mortification to find, that the Government here is not, any more than in England, influenced by the vociferations of fish-women, or by the *toasts* and *resolutions* of popular societies. He will, however, have one consolation: here as well as there, he will find that the truly great, virtuous, and incorruptible man at the head of Government, is branded for an *Aristocrat* by those noisy gentry.

Happiness being the end of all good government, that which produces the most is consequently the best; and comparison being the only method of determining the relative value of things, it is easy to see which is preferable, the tyranny which the French formerly enjoyed, or the liberty and equality they at present labour under. If the Doctor had come about a year sooner, he might have had the satisfaction of being not only an ear, but an eye witness also, of some of the blessed effects of this celebrated revolution. He might then have been regaled with that sight, so delectable to a modern philosopher; opulence reduced to misery.

* I here speak of the *Federal Government* only. The State Governments differ as widely in their systems as in their conduct.

The stale pretence, that the league against the French has been the cause of their inhuman conduct to each other, cannot, by the most perverse sophistry, be applied to the island of St. Domingo. That fine rich colony was ruined, its superb capital and villas reduced to ashes, one half of its inhabitants massacred, and the other half reduced to beggary, before an enemy ever appeared on the coast. No: it is that system of anarchy and blood that was celebrated at Birmingham, on the 14th of July, 1791, that has been the cause of all this murder and devastation.

Nor let the Doctor pretend that this could not be foreseen. It was foreseen, and foretold too, from the very moment a part of the deputies to the States General were permitted to call themselves a National Assembly. In proof of this, I could mention a dozen publications that came out under his own eye; but I shall content myself with giving a short extract from a speech in the British Parliament, which is the more proper on this occasion, as it was delivered but a few weeks before the period of the riots. “The
 “ Americans,” said Mr. Burke, “have what was
 “ essentially necessary for freedom: they have the
 “ phlegm of the good-tempered Englishmen—they
 “ were fitted for republicans by a republican educa-
 “ tion. Their revolution was not brought about
 “ by base and degenerate crimes; nor did they over-
 “ turn a government for the purposes of anarchy;
 “ but they raised a republic, as nearly representing
 “ the British Government as it was possible. They
 “ did not run into the absurdity of France, and by
 “ seizing on the *rights of man*, declare that the nation
 “ was to govern the nation, and Prince Prettyman
 “ to govern Prince Prettyman*. There are in Ca-
 “ nada

* If this Gentleman could see a *rant* published a few days ago by my old friends, the New-York Democratic Society, he would find

“ nada many of the ancient inhabitants ; will it be
 “ proper to give them the French Constitution ? In
 “ my opinion, there is not a single circumstance
 “ that recommends the adoption of any part of it,
 “ for the whole is abominably bad, the production of
 “ folly, not wisdom—of vice, not virtue ; it contains
 “ nothing but extremes, as distant from each other
 “ as the poles—the parts are in eternal opposition to
 “ each other—it is founded on what is called the
 “ *rights* of man ; but, to my conviction, it is founded
 “ on the *wrongs* of man ; and I now hold in my
 “ hand, an example of its effects on the French co-
 “ lonies. Domingo, Guadaloupe, and the other
 “ French islands, were rich, happy, and growing
 “ in strength and consequence, in spite of the three
 “ last distressing wars, before they heard of the new
 “ doctrine of the rights of man ; but these rights
 “ were no sooner arrived at the islands than any
 “ spectator would have imagined that Pandora’s box
 “ had been opened, and that hell had yawned out
 “ discord, murder, and every mischief ; for anarchy,
 “ confusion, and bloodshed raged every where ; it
 “ was a general summons for

“ Black spirits and white,
 “ Blue spirits and gray,
 “ Mingle, mingle, mingle,
 “ You that mingle may.”

“ When the Assembly heard of these disorders, they
 “ ordered troops to quell them ; but it proves that
 “ the troops have joined the insurgents, and mur-
 “ dered their commander. I look on the revolution

find that we are improved ; and that Prince Prettyman is to govern
 Prince Prettyman, here as well as in France : “ What,” say they,
 “ shall preserve public liberty, but the wisdom of an enlightened
 “ people ? In every free state, the sovereignty is vested in the
 “ people, and every individual is at once a *legislator* and a *so-
 “ vereign*.”

“ with

“ with horror and detestation ; it is a revolution of
 “ consummate folly, formed and maintained by every
 “ vice.”

But perhaps the Doctor's intense studies, “ his continual labours for the good of mankind,” might not leave him time to pursue the debates of Parliament ; however, we may fairly presume, that he read the letters addressed to himself ; and if so, he has read the following passage : “ You think that a
 “ neighbouring nation is emancipated from tyranny,
 “ and that a company of Englishmen may laudably
 “ express their joy on the occasion. Were your premises true, I would allow your conclusion. But let
 “ us wait the event. Philosophers should not be
 “ too credulous, or form their determinations too
 “ rashly. It is very possible that all the magnificent schemes of your august diet in France may
 “ be succeeded by a ridiculous, a villanous, or a
 “ bloody catastrophe.”

Either he foresaw the consequences of the French revolution, or he did not foresee them : if he did not, he must confess that his penetration was far inferior to that of his antagonists, and even to that of the multitude of his countrymen ; for they all foresaw them. If he did foresee them, he ought to blush at being called the “ friend of human happiness ;” for, to foresee such dreadful calamities, and to form a deliberate plan for bringing them upon his country, he must have a disposition truly diabolical. If he did not foresee them, he must have an understanding little superior to that of an idiot ; if he did, he must have the heart of a *Marat*. Let him choose.

But it is pretty clear that he foresaw the consequences, or, at least, that he approves of them ; for, as I have observed above, he sent his son into France, in the very midst of the massacres, to request the honour of becoming a French Citizen ; and in his answers to the addressers at New-York, he
 takes

takes good care to express his disapprobation of the war pursued by his country (which he calls an insatiation), because its manifest tendency is to destroy that hydra, that system of anarchy which is the primary cause. Besides, is not his emigration itself a convincing proof that his opinion still remains the same? If he found himself mistaken, he would confess his error: at least tacitly, by a change of conduct. Has he done this? No: the French revolution is his system, and sooner than not see it established, I much question if he would not with pleasure see the massacre of all the human race.

Even suppose his intended plan of improvement had been the best in the world, instead of the worst, the people of England had certainly a right to reject it. He claims as an indubitable right, the right of thinking for *others*, and yet he will not permit the people of England to think for *themselves*. Paine says, "What a whole nation *wills*, it has a right *to do*." Consequently, what a whole nation does *not will*, it has a right *not to do*. Rousseau says, "The majority of a people has a right to *force* the rest to be *free*:" but even the "insane Socrates of the National Assembly" has never, in all his absurd reveries, had the folly to pretend, that a club of dissenting malcontents has a right to *force* a whole nation to be *free*. If the English choose to remain slaves, bigots, and idolaters, as the Doctor calls them, that was no business of his: he had nothing to do with them. He should have let them alone; and perhaps in due time, the abuses of their Government would have come to that "*natural termination*," which, he trusts, "will guard against future abuses." But no, said the Doctor, I will reform you—I will enlighten you—I will make you free. You shall not, say the people. But I will! says the Doctor. By —, say the people, you shall not! "*And when Ahithophel saw that his counsel was not followed, he saddled his*
VOL. I. N *ass,*

“ *as, and arose, and gat him home to his house, to his*
 “ *city, and put his household in order, and hanged him-*
 “ *self, and died, and was buried in the sepulchre of his*
 “ *father.*”

I now beg the reader's company, in a slight review of the addresses delivered to the Doctor by the several patriotic societies at New-York*.

It is no more than justice to say of these addresses, in the lump, that they are distinguished for a certain barrenness of thought and vulgarity of style, which, were we not in possession of the Doctor's answer, might be thought inimitable. If the parties were less known, one might be tempted to think that the addressers were dull by concert; and that, by way of retaliation, the Doctor was resolved to be as dull as they. At least, if this was their design, nobody will deny but they have succeeded to admiration.

“ The Governments of the old world,” say the Democratic Society, “ are most of them now basely
 “ combined to prevent the establishment of liberty
 “ in France, and to effect the total destruction of
 “ the Rights of Man.”

What! The Rights of Man yet? I thought that *Liberty and Equality, the Rights of Man*, and all that kind of political cant, had long been proved to be the grossest imposition. Are there people in this country, and people who pretend to possess a superior degree of sagacity too, who are dolts enough to talk about *French liberty*, after what passes under their eyes every day? Is not every Frenchman in the

* I. An address from the “ *Democratic Society.*”

II. From the “ *Tammany Society.*”

III. From the “ *Associated Teachers.*”

IV. From the “ *Republican Natives of Great Britain and Ireland.*”

These addresses, with the answers to them, having all appeared in the *Gazettes*, it will be useless to give them at length here.

United

United States obliged to go to a Justice of the Peace every two or three months, to have a certificate of residence? And must he not have this certificate sworn to, and signed by four inhabitants besides the Magistrate? And must he not pay for this too? And if he fails in any part of this slavish ceremony, or goes into Canada or Florida, is he not marked out for the guillotine? An Englishman may come when he will, stay as long as he pleases, go where he will, and return when he will to his own country, without finding any law of proscription or confiscation issued against him or his property. Which has the most liberty?

I thought no one would dun our ears with *French liberty*, after the decree which obliges every merchant, under the pain of the guillotine, to make a declaration of all his property in foreign countries, and to give up his right and title of such property to the Convention; and not only to make a declaration of his own, but of his neighbours' property also, under the same penalty! It has long been customary to express a detestation of the tyranny and cruelty of the Inquisition: but the Inquisition, in the height of its severity, was never half so tyrannical as this decree. This is the boasted "Gallic liberty." Let us hear their own definition of this liberty. "Liberty," says Barrere, in his report to the National Convention, on the 3d of January, 1794, "Liberty, my dear fellow citizens, is a privileged and general creditor; not only has she a right to our *property* and *persons*, but to our *talents* and *courage*, and even to our *thoughts*!" Oh, liberty! what a metamorphosis hast thou undergone in the hands of these political jugglers!

If this be liberty, may God in his mercy continue me the most abject slave! If this be liberty, who will say that the English did not do

well in rejecting the Doctor's plan for making them free? The democrats of New-York accuse the allies of being combined to prevent the establishment of liberty in France, and to destroy the rights of man; when it is notorious that the French themselves have banished the very idea of the thing from amongst them; that is to say, if they ever had an idea of it. Nay, the author of the *Rights of Man*, and the authoress of the *Rights of Women*, are at this moment starving in a dirty dungeon, not a hundred paces from the *sanctum sanctorum* of liberty and equality; and the poor unfortunate goddess* herself is guillotined! So much for liberty and the Rights of Man.

The Tammany Society comes forward in boasting of their "*venerable ancestors*," and, says the Doctor in his answer, "Happy would *our* venerable ancestors have been to have found, &c." What! were they the Doctor's ancestors too? I suppose he means in a figurative sense. But certainly, Gentlemen, you made a *faux pas* in talking about your ancestors at all. It is always a tender subject, and ought to be particularly avoided by a body of men "who disdain the shackles of tradition."

You say, that in the United States "there exists
 " a sentiment of free and candid inquiry, which dis-
 " dains the shackles of tradition, preparing a rich
 " harvest of improvement, and the glorious triumph
 " of truth." Knowing the religious, or rather irreligious principles of the person to whom this sentence was addressed, it is easy to divine its meaning. But, without flattery, your zeal surpasses that of the

* Madame Hebert, who had the honour of representing this deity, and who received, for a considerable time, the adorations and incense of the devout Parisians, was guillotined not long ago. It is impossible to say for what she was executed, as the court, by which she was tried, do not waste their precious time in committing their proceedings to writing.

Doctor himself: he disdains *revelation only*; the authority of Moses, David, and a parcel of folks that nobody knows; but you disdain what your fathers have told you: which is the more surprizing, as, at the same time, you boast of your "*venerable ancestors*." People should always endeavour to be consistent, at least *when interest does not interfere*. However, suppose the shackles of revelation and tradition both completely shaken off, and the infidel Unitarian system established in their stead, what good would the country derive from it? This is certainly worth inquiry, because a thing that will do no good, can be good for nothing. The people of these States are, in general, industrious, sober, honest, humane, charitable, and sincere; dutiful children and tender parents. This is the character of the people, and who will pretend to say that the Gospel, the belief of which has chiefly contributed to their acquiring of this amiable character, ought to be exchanged for the atheistical or deistical doctrines of a Monvel* or a Priestley? For my part, I can see nothing to induce us to try the experiment; no, not even "the rich harvest of improvement, and the glorious triumph of truth," that you say it promises." We know *the truth* already; we want no improvement in religious knowledge; all we want is, to practise

* Upon the article of religion, *Monvel* says, "the world has seen three infamous impostors, Moses, Mahomet, and Jesus Christ. Men have ever been divided into two classes, the deceivers and the deceived; they have always had false fears and vain hopes. These have introduced religions, that is to say, cheats and dupes; and in short, the soul of a man and that of a dog are just as precious, and as immortal, the one as the other."

This *Monvel* was a player, and was chosen by the National Convention of France as a priest of atheism. The above sentiments, making part of a discourse delivered by him in the church of St. Roch, at Paris, were translated from the *Journal Republicain de Paris*.

better what we know ; and it is not likely that our practice would be improved by disdaining the theory.

You allow that a public and sincere spirit of toleration exists among us. What more is wanted ? If you were to effect a general disdain of the shackles of tradition, perhaps the "rich harvest" would be a corruption of manners, discord, persecution, and blood. The same causes generally produce the same effects : to see and be terrified at those effects, we have only to turn our eyes to that distracted country, where it must be allowed, even by yourselves, the shackles of tradition are sufficiently disdained.

Doctor Priestley professes to wish for nothing but toleration, liberty of conscience. But let us contrast these moderate and disinterested professions with what he has advanced in some of his latest publications. I have already taken notice of the assertion in his letters to the students of Hackney, "that the established church *must fall*." In his address to the Jews (whom, by the by, he seems to wish to form a coalition with), he says, "all the persecutions of the Jews have arisen from *Trinitarian*, that is to say, *idolatrous Christians*." Idolatrous Christians ! It is the first time, I believe, these two words were ever joined together. Is this the language of a man who wanted only toleration, in a country where the established church, and the most part of the Dissenters also, are professedly *Trinitarians* ? He will undoubtedly say, that the people of this country are *idolaters* too, for there is not one out of a hundred at most, who does not firmly believe in the doctrine of the Trinity.

Such a man complains of persecution with a very ill grace. But suppose he had been persecuted for a mere matter of opinion ; it would be only receiving the measure he has meted to others. Has he not approved of the unmerciful persecution of the unfortunate and worthy part of the French clergy ? men

as far surpassing him in piety and utility as in suffering. They did not want to coin a new religion; they wanted only to be permitted to enjoy, without interruption, the one they had been educated in, and that they had sworn, in the most solemn manner, to continue in to the end of their lives. The Doctor says, in his address to the Methodists, “ You will judge whether I have not reason and Scripture on my side. You will at least be convinced, that *I have so persuaded myself*: and you cannot but respect a real lover of truth, and *a desire to bring others into it*, even in the man who is unfortunately in an error.” Does not this man blush at approving of the base, cowardly, and bloody persecutions that have been carried on against a set of men, who erred, if they did err at all, from an excess of conscientiousness? *He* talks of persecution, and puts on the mockery of woe: theirs has been persecution indeed. Robbed, dragged from their homes, or obliged to hide from the sight of man, in continual expectation of the assassin’s stab; some transported like common felons, for ever; and a much greater number butchered by those to whose happiness their lives had been devoted, and in that country that they loved too well to disgrace by their apostacy! How gladly would one of these unfortunate conscientious men have escaped to America, leaving fortune, friends, and all behind him! and how different has been the fate of Doctor Priestley! Ah, Gentlemen! do not let us be deceived by false pretenders: the manner of his emigration is of itself a sufficient proof that the step was not necessary to the enjoyment of “ protection from violence.”

You say he has “ long *disinterestedly* laboured for his country.” ’Tis true he says so, but we must not believe him more disinterested than other reformers. If toleration had been all he wanted; if he had contented himself with the permission of

spreading his doctrines, he would have found this in England, or in almost any other country, as well as here. The man that wants only to avoid persecution, does not make a noisy and fastidious display of his principles, or attack with unbridled indecency, the religion of the country in which he lives. He who avoids persecution, is seldom persecuted.

“ The lifted axe, the agonizing wheel,
 “ Luke’s iron crown and Damien’s bed of steel,
 “ To men remote from pow’r but rarely known,
 “ Leave reason, faith, and conscience all our own.”

But the Doctor did not want to be remote from power, or *profit* either ; for in his sermon on the test laws, he proposes “ to set apart one church for the “ Dissenters in every considerable town, and a certain allotment of *tithes* for their Minister, proportioned to the number of Dissenters in the district.” A very modest and disinterested request truly ! Was this man seeking peace and toleration *only* ? He thinks these facts are unknown in America. After all his clamour against tithes, and his rejoicing on account of their abolition in France, he had no objection to their continuing in England, provided he came in for a share. Astonishing disinterestedness !

In this country there is nothing to fear from the Doctor’s disinterestedness, because there being no public revenue annexed to any worship whatever, there is nothing to wrangle for ; but from the disseminating of his deistical doctrine, there is much to fear. A celebrated deist in England says, that there can be no such thing as an atheist ; that it is impossible : for, says he, “ every one must necessarily believe that some cause or other produced the universe ; he may call that cause what he pleases ; “ *God, nature, or even chance* ; still he believes in “ the efficacy of that cause, and therefore is no “ atheist.” And, indeed, we shall find that deism

is but another name for atheism, whether we consider it in theory or in practice. That we should not be bettered by the introduction of deism or atheism, I think is a clear case. "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom." While this fear existed in France, there was some kind of manners, some kind of justice left; but ever since the deluded people have been taught that Jesus Christ was an infamous impostor, and the worship of him has been forbidden as "idolatrous," the whole infernal legion seems to be let loose amongst them, and the nation appears marked out for a dreadful example to mankind: indeed some such example was necessary to cure the world of the infidel philosophy of Voltaire, Rousseau, Gibbon, Priestley, and the rest of that enlightened tribe.

We are continually exclaiming against prejudice, without attending to its effect on ourselves. I am afraid prejudice in favour of the French revolution, has led Americans to approve many things which, a few years ago, they would have viewed with the utmost abhorrence, and that they would even now view with abhorrence in any other nation: and here I cannot help taking notice of an article that appeared, not many days ago, in one of our public papers. The writer is giving a list of eminent persons who have "arisen on the democratic floor," which he concludes with *Marat*, *St. Paul*, and *Jesus Christ*. Is it not a most horrid blasphemy to put the Son of God, the Prince of Peace, on a footing with the bloody author of the massacres at Paris and Versailles? I hope and believe, that such blasphemers are rare in the United States; and the only way to keep them so is, for the people to reject unanimously every attempt to debase Christianity, in whatever shape, and under whatever disguise it may appear.

In the address of "the republican natives of Great
" Britain

“ Britain and Ireland, resident at New-York,” we find a very extraordinary passage indeed : but before we say any thing about this address, it will not be amiss to premise a word or two about the addressers. I believe one might venture to say, that there are but few natives of Ireland among them ; because the emigrants from that country, being generally engaged in agricultural pursuits from their first arrival here, have not the time to form themselves into political societies ; and the words “ Great Britain” might probably have been supplied by *one word* : however, as the gentlemen have not thought this word worthy of a place in their address, I can by no means think of introducing it here ; but let us see what they say of themselves : “ After a *fruitless* “ *opposition* to a corrupt and tyrannical Government, “ *many of us, like you, fought freedom and protection* “ in the United States of America. We look back “ on our native country with *pity and indignation,* “ at the outrages that humanity has sustained in the “ persons of the virtuous *Muir* and his patriotic associates.” We may then fairly suppose that these “ republican natives of Great Britain and Ireland” can be no other than the members of that renowned Convention of which “ the *virtuous Muir,*” who is now fortunately on his passage to Botany Bay, was President.

The passage of their address, alluded to above, is as follows : “ Participating in the many blessings “ which the Government is calculated to ensure, we “ are happy in giving it this proof of our respectful “ attachment. We are only *grieved* that a system “ of such beauty and excellence should be at all *tar-* “ *nished* by the existence of *slavery in any form !* but, “ as friends to the equal rights of man, we must be “ permitted to say, that we wish these rights ex- “ tended to every human being, *be his complexion* “ *what it may* : we, however, look forward with “ pleasing

“ pleasing anticipation to a yet more perfect state of
 “ society; and from that love of liberty which forms
 “ so distinguished a trait in the American character,
 “ are taught to hope that this *last, this worst disgrace*
 “ *to a free Government*, will finally and for ever be
 “ done away.” So! these gentlemen are hardly
 landed in the United States before they begin to
 cavil against the Government, and to pant after a
more perfect state of society! If they have already dis-
 covered that the system is *tarnished by the very last*
and worst disgrace of a free Government, what may we
 not reasonably expect from their future researches?
 If they, with their virtuous President, had been
 landed in the southern States, they might have lent
 a hand to finish the great work so happily begun by
 Citizens Santhonax and Polverel: they have caught
 the *itch* of addressing, petitioning, and remon-
 strating, in their own country; let them scratch
 themselves into a cure; but let them not attempt
 spreading their disorder: they ought to remember,
 that they are come here “ to seek freedom and pro-
 tection” *for themselves*, and not *for others*. When
 the people of these States are ready for a total abo-
 lition of negro slavery, they will make a shift to see
 the propriety of adopting the measure without the
 assistance of these northern lights. In the mean
 time, as the Convention cannot here enter on the le-
 gislative functions, they may amuse themselves with
 a fable written for their particular use:

The Pot-shop, a Fable.

In a pot-shop, well stocked with ware of all sorts,
 a discontented ill-formed pitcher unluckily bore the
 sway. One day, after the mortifying neglect of se-
 veral customers, “Gentlemen,” said he, addressing
 himself to his brown brethren in general, “Gentle-
 “ men, with your permission, we are a set of tame
 “ fools, without ambition, without courage; con-
 “ demned

“ demned to the vilest uses, we suffer all without
 “ murmuring: let us dare to declare ourselves,
 “ and we shall soon see the difference. That su-
 “ perb ewer, which, like us, is but earth; those
 “ gilded jars, vases, china, and, in short, all those
 “ elegant nonsenses, whose colours and beauty have
 “ neither weight nor solidity, must yield to our
 “ strength, and give place to our superior merit.”

This civic harangue was received with peals of applause, and the pitcher (chosen president) became the organ of the assembly. Some, however, more moderate than the rest, attempted to calm the minds of the multitude; but all those which are called jordens, or chamber-pots, were become intractable; eager to vie with the bowls and cups, they were impatient, almost to madness, to quit their obscure abodes, to shine upon the table, kiss the lip, and ornament the cupboard.

In vain did a wise water-jug (some say it was a platter) make them a long and serious discourse upon the peacefulness of their vocation: “ Those,” says he, “ who are destined to great employments
 “ are rarely the most happy. We are all of the
 “ same clay, ’t is true; but he who made us, formed
 “ us for different functions; one is for ornament,
 “ another for use. The posts the least important
 “ are often the most necessary. Our employments
 “ are extremely different, and so are our talents.”

This had a wonderful effect; the most stupid began to open their ears: perhaps it would have succeeded, if a grease-pot had not cried out with a decisive tone, “ You reason like an ass; to the devil
 “ with you and your silly lessons.”

Now the scale was turned again: all the horde of jordens, pans, and pitchers, applauded the superior eloquence and reasoning of the grease-pot: in short, they determined on the enterprise; but a dispute arose who should be chief: all would command,
 but

but none obey. It was then you might have heard a clatter : pots, pans and pitchers, mugs, jugs and jorden's, all put themselves in motion at once ; and so wisely, and with so much vigour, were their operations conducted, that the whole was soon changed.—not into china, but *rubbish*.

Let us leave the application of this fable to those for whom it is intended, and come to the address of “ the Associated Teachers in the city of New-York.”

From the profession of these gentlemen, one would have wished not to find them among the Doctor's addressers ; and it will be for those who employ the “ Associated Teachers” to judge, how far their approbation and praise of the writings of such a man, is a proof of their being calculated for “ the arduous “ and *important* task of cultivating the human mind*.” They very civilly invite the Doctor to assist them to

* I have been informed, that these *associated* brethren of the birch complain of my attacking them in the dark ; but let them lay their hands to their hearts, and say, if they can, that I fight more unfair than they do, when they discharge their ill-humour on a poor little trembling wretch, whose pitiful look would soften the heart of a tiger. However, I cease the inglorious combat : I confess it is not fair to attack them with a pen : they know how to write with a rod only ; and I dare say their answer to my observations on their address is still legible on the posteriors of their unfortunate pupils.

One of these schoolmasters wrote a pamphlet in reply to the OBSERVATIONS : it never reached so far as Philadelphia ; but, I am told, he complained of my partiality in omitting to notice the address of the *Philosophical Society of Philadelphia*, and that of the *Medical Society of New-York*. This omission the pedagogue attributes to my fear of offending those Societies ; but I can assure him, that, for the former, I have ever expressed the most contempt, and of the latter I cannot possibly be *afraid*, as, thanks be to God, *a good constitution*, even if I were in New-York, would keep me out of their clutches : the fact is, I never saw or heard of either of these addresses till long after my OBSERVATIONS were published ; and I did not think the addressers of consequence enough to be introduced into any subsequent edition.

"*form the man*;" and, in his answer, he seems to hint that he may possibly accept the invitation. All I can say on this matter is, if he should embrace this profession, I hope he will be exactly as successful in forming the man, as he has been in reforming him.

In the answer to the "Associated Teachers," the Doctor observes, that, *classes* of men, "as well as *individuals*, are apt to form *too high* ideas of their *own importance*." Never was a juster observation than this, and never was this observation more fully verified than in the parties themselves. The Doctor's self-importance is sufficiently depicted in the quotation that I have given from his letter to the people of Birmingham; and as for the "Associated Teachers," how familiarly soever they may talk of "the intriguing politics and vitiating refinements of the European world," I must say, I think they know but little of what passes in that world, or they never would have larded with such extravagant eulogiums, productions which, in general, have been long exploded.

With respect to the Doctor's metaphysical reveries, or, in other words, his system of infidelity, I shall leave to himself the task of exposing that to the detestation of Americans, as it has long been to that of the English*. Of his scientific productions I propose, in a little time, to give the public a short review†; meanwhile, I refer the curious reader to the publications of the Royal Society of 1791 and 1792, and to Doctor Bewley's treatise on air. He will there see his system of chemistry and natural philosophy detected, exposed, and defeated; and the "celebrated Philosopher" himself accused and

* He has made a pretty good beginning already, as we shall see by and by.

† The Doctor has saved me the trouble of doing this.

convicted of plagiarism *. He will there find the key to the following sentence: “The *patronage* to be met with in monarchical governments is ever “ *capricious*, and as often employed to bear down “ merit as to promote it, having for its object, not “ science, or any thing useful to mankind, but the “ mere reputation of the patron, *who is seldom any “ judge of science* †.” This is the language of every four neglected author, from a sorry ballad-monger to a doctor with half a dozen initials at the end of his name.

As to his talents as a writer, we have only to open our eyes to be convinced that they are far below mediocrity. His style is uncouth and superlatively diffuse. Always involved in *minutiae*, every sentence is a string of parentheses, in finding the end of which the reader is lucky if he does not lose the proposition they were meant to illustrate. In short, the whole of his phraseology is extremely disgusting; to which may be added, that even in point of grammar he is very often incorrect.

As a proof of what I have here asserted, I could give a thousand sentences from his writings; but I choose one or two from his answers to the addressers, as these pieces are in every body's hands; and, not to criticise unfairly, I shall take the first sentence I come at—it runs thus:

“ Viewing with the deepest concern, as you do,
 “ the prospect that is now exhibited in Europe,
 “ those troubles which are the natural offspring of
 “ their forms of government, originating indeed in
 “ the spirit of liberty, but gradually degenerating
 “ into tyrannies equally degrading to the rulers and

* Have a little patience, reader, and you shall be satisfied of this.

† This was addressed to the Philosophical Society at Philadelphia. We shall see all this unravelled by and by.

" the ruled, I rejoice in finding an asylum from
 " persecution in a country in which those abuses
 " have come to a natural termination, and pro-
 " duced another system of liberty, founded on such
 " wise principles as, I trust, will guard against all
 " future abuses; those artificial distinctions in so-
 " ciety, from which they sprung, being completely
 " eradicated, that protection from violence, which
 " laws and government promise in all countries, but
 " which I have not found in my own, I doubt not
 " I shall find with you, though I cannot promise to
 " be a better subject of this Government, than my
 " whole conduct will evince that I have been to
 " that of Great Britain."

This is neither the *style periodique*, nor the *style coupé*; it is, I presume, the *style entortillé*: for one would certainly think that the author had racked his imagination to render what he had to say unintelligible. This sentence of monstrous length is cut asunder in the middle by a semicolon, which, except that it serves the weary reader by way of half-way house, might be placed in any other part of the sentence, to, at least, equal advantage: in fact, this is not a sentence; it is a rigmarole ramble, that has neither beginning nor ending, and conveys to us no idea of any thing but the author's incapacity.

" Viewing with the deepest concern, as you do,
 " the prospect that is now exhibited in Europe,
 " those *troubles* which are the natural offspring of
 " THEIR forms of government." What in the name
 of goodness does this mean? *Troubles* is the only antecedent that can be found to *their*; and the necessary conclusion is, *troubles have their forms of government*.

The Doctor says, in his answer to the Tammany Society, " Happy would our venerable ancestors," as you justly call them, " *have been, to have found* America such a retreat to them." It may, perhaps, be

be useful to the learned Doctor to know, that he ought to have said, "Happy would our venerable "ancestors, as you justly call them, have been, to "find America, &c."

I grant that there is great reason to believe, that the Doctor was resolved to be as dull as his addressers; but I assert, that it is impossible for a person accustomed to commit his thoughts to paper, with the smallest degree of taste or correctness, to fall into such gross solecism, or to tack phrases together in such an awkward homespun manner: in short, he cannot be fit for even the post of *castigator*; and therefore it is to be hoped that the "Associated "Teachers" will not lessen their "importance" by admitting him amongst them, that is to say, except it be as a pupil.

There are many things that astonish us in the addresses, among which the *compassion* that the addressers express for that "*infatuated*" and "*devoted* "country," Great Britain, certainly is not the least.

The Democratic Society, with a hatred against tyranny that would have become the worthy nephew of Damien*, or the great Marat himself, say, "The multiplied oppressions which characterize that "Government, excite in us the most painful sensations, and exhibit a spectacle as disgusting in itself as dishonourable to the British name."

And what a tender affectionate concern do the sons of Tammany express for the poor distressed unfortunate country of their "venerable ancestors!"—"A country," say they, "although now presenting "a prospect frightful to the eye of humanity, yet "once the nurse of sciences, of arts, of heroes, and "of freemen; a country which, although at present "apparently *devoted to destruction*, we *fondly* hope

* Robespierre.

“ may yet *tread back the steps of infamy and ruin,*
 “ and *once more rise conspicuous among the free nations*
 “ of the earth*.”

But of all the addressees, none seem so zealous on this subject as “ the republican natives of Great Britain and Ireland.”—“ While,” say they, “ we look back on our native country with emotions of pity and indignation at the outrages human nature has sustained in the persons of the virtuous *Muir* and his patriotic associates, and deeply lament the fatal apathy into which our *countrymen* have fallen, we desire to be thankful to the great Author of our being that we are in America, and that it had pleased him, in his wise providence, to make these United States an asylum, not only from the immediate tyranny of the British Government, but also from those impending calamities which its increasing despotism and multiplied iniquities must infallibly bring down on a deluded and oppressed people.” What an enthusiastic warmth is here! No Solemn-league-and-covenant prayer, embellished with the nasal sweetness of the Conventicle, was ever more affecting.

To all this the Doctor very piteously echoes back “ sigh for sigh, and groan for groan; and when the fountain of their eyes is dry, his supplies the place, and weeps for both.”

There is something so pathetic, so irresistibly moving in all this, that a man must have a hard heart indeed to read it, and not burst into laughter.

In speaking of monarchies, it has often been lamented, that the sovereign seldom or never hears the truth; and much afraid I am, that this is equally applicable to democracies. What court sycophants

* If any of these contemptible animals are yet alive, how must they be mortified at the glorious situation of Great Britain now, in December, 1798!

are to a prince, demagogues are to a people; and the latter kind of parasites is by no means less dangerous than the former; perhaps more so, as being more ambitious and more numerous. God knows, there were too many of this description in America before the arrival of Doctor Priestley; I can, therefore, see no reason for boastings and addressings on account of the acquisition.

Every one must observe how the Doctor has fallen at once into the track of those who were already in possession of the honourable post. Finding a popular prejudice prevailing against his country, and not possessing that *patriæ caritas* which is the characteristic of his countrymen, he has not been ashamed to attempt making his court by flattering that prejudice. I grant, that a prejudice against this nation is not only excusable, but almost commendable, in *Americans* *; but the misfortune is, it exposes them to deception, and makes them the sport of every intriguing adventurer. Suppose it be the interest of Americans that Great Britain should be ruined, and even annihilated, in the present contest, it can never be their interest to believe that this desirable object is already nearly, or quite accomplished, at a time when she is become more formidable than ever in every quarter of the globe: and

* The Editors of the *British Critic*, in reviewing these observations (vol. iv. p. 498), say, on this passage, that they "are sorry to see such a sentiment still subsisting in a mind so enlightened." These gentlemen knew but very little of the state of politics in America at that time: they did not consider that this little tract was the first attempt which, for twenty long years, any one had ventured to make in defence of the character of Great Britain. A sentiment like this it was absolutely necessary here and there to throw in, not only to obtain a patient hearing from the public, but to provide for the personal safety of the author. Had he been known to be an Englishman, even these soothing sentiments would not have saved him from "popular fury," far worse than Dr. Priestley ever endured.

with respect to the internal situation of that country, we ought not to suffer ourselves to be deceived by "gleanings from Morning Chronicles or Dublin Gazettes;" for if we insist that newspaper report is the criterion by which we ought to judge of the governments and the state of other countries, we must allow the same measure to foreigners with respect to our own country; and then what must the people of England think of the Government of the United States upon reading a page or two from the slovenly pen of *Agricola*?

"It is charitable," says this democrat, "it is charitable to believe many who signed the constitution, never dreamed of the measures taking place, which, alas! we now experience. By this double Government we are involved in unnecessary burdens, which *neither we nor our fathers* ever knew: such a *monster of a Government* has seldom ever been known on earth. We are obliged to maintain two Governments, with their full number of officers from head to foot. Some of them receive such wages as never were heard of before in any Government upon earth; and all this bestowed on *aristocrats* for doing next to nothing. A blessed revolution! a blessed revolution indeed! but farmers, mechanics, and labourers, have no share in it; we are the asses who must have the honour of paying them all, without any adequate service. Now let the impartial judge, whether our Government, taken collectively, answers the great end of *protecting our persons and property!* or whether it is not rather calculated to drain us of our money, and give it to men who have not rendered adequate service for it. Had an inspired prophet told us the things which our eyes see in the beginning of the revolution, he might have met Jeremiah's fate; or, if we had believed him, *not one in a thousand would have resisted Great Britain.*

“ *Britain*. Indeed, my countrymen, we are so loaded
 “ by our new Governments, that we can have little
 “ heart to attempt to move under all our burdens ;
 “ we have this consolation, when things come to the
 “ worst, there must be a change, *and we may rest*
 “ *satisfied, that either the Federal or State Governments*
 “ *must fall.*”

If “ gleanings” like these were published in England, would not the people naturally exclaim, What ! the boasted Government of America come to this already ? The poor Americans are dreadfully tyrannized by the aristocrats ! There will certainly be a *revolution* in America soon ! They would be just as much mistaken as the people in this country are when they talk of a revolution in England.

Neither ought we to look upon the emigration of persons from England to this country as a proof of their being persecuted, and of the tyranny of the English Government. It is paying America a very poor compliment, to suppose that nothing short of persecution could bring settlers to its shores. This is, besides, the most unfortunate proof that could possibly be produced by the advocates of the French revolution : for if the emigration of a person to this country be a proof of a tyranny existing in that from which he comes, how superlatively tyrannical must the Government in France be ? But they say, those who emigrate from France are aristocrats ; they are not persecuted ; they emigrate because they *hate a free country*. What ! do they really come to *America*, because they *hate a free country* ? Did the governors of Martinico, &c. make a capitulation to be sent here, *to avoid going to a free country* ? The Democratic Society will certainly oblige the world very much in explaining this enigma.

I am one of those who wish to believe that foreigners come to this country from choice, and not from necessity. America opens a wide field for enter-

prise; wages for all mechanics are better, and the means of subsistence proportionably cheaper than in Europe. This is what brings foreigners amongst us: they become citizens of America for the honest purposes of commerce, of turning their industry and talents to the best account, and of bettering their fortunes*. By their exertions to enrich themselves, they enrich the state, lower the wages, and render the country less dependant upon others. The most numerous, as well as the most useful, are mechanics. Perhaps a cobbler, with his hammer and awls, is a more valuable acquisition than a dozen philosophico-political empirics, with all their boasted apparatus.

Of all the English arrived in these States (since the war) no one was ever calculated to render them less service than Doctor Priestley; and what is more, perhaps no one (before or since, or even in the war) ever intended to render them less: his preference to the American Government is all affectation: his emigration was not voluntary: he staid in England till he saw no hopes of recovering a lost reputation: and then, bursting with envy and resentment, he fled into what the Tammany Society very justly call "banishment," covered with the universal detestation of his countrymen.

Here ended the pamphlet in its original form, concluding with some of those assertions which were said to be the most "hazarded," and for the truth of which I am sorry I have no better voucher than the Doctor himself.

In the preface to his farewell sermon, preached to

* Things have materially altered, however, since 1794. Now, in 1799, thousands of industrious Britons wish they never had emigrated.

his disciples at Hackney, he says, "I hope my friends
 " and the public will indulge me while I give the
 " reasons of its being the last, in consequence of my
 " having, at length, after much hesitation, and *now*
 " *with reluctance*, come to a resolution to leave the
 " kingdom." "——I cannot refrain from repeat-
 " ing that I leave my country with *real regret*."

Was it a "hazarded assertion," then, to say that his preference to the American Government was all affection, and that his emigration was not voluntary?

"My friends," says he, "earnestly advised me to
 " disguise myself as I was going to London. But all
 " that was done in that way was taking a place for
 " me in the mail-coach, which I entered at Worcester
 " in another name than my own. However,
 " the friend who had the courage to receive me in
 " London, had thought it necessary to provide a
 " dress that should disguise me, and also a method
 " of making my escape, in case the house should be
 " attacked on my account; and, for some time, my
 " friends would not suffer me to appear in the
 " streets."——"The managers of one of the principal
 " charities among the Dissenters applied to me to
 " preach their annual sermon, and I consented. But
 " the treasurer, a man of fortune, was so alarmed at
 " it, that he declared he could not sleep. I there-
 " fore, to his great relief, declined preaching at all."
 "——"When the Hackney association was formed,
 " several servants in the neighbourhood actually re-
 " moved their goods; and when there was some po-
 " litical meeting at the house of Mr. Breillat, though
 " about two miles from my house, a woman, whose
 " daughter was servant in the house contiguous to
 " mine, came to her mistress, to entreat that she
 " might be out of the way."——"On several occasions
 " the neighbourhood has been greatly alarmed on
 " account of my being so near them. I could name
 " a person,

“ a person, and, to appearance, a reputable trades-
 “ man, who declared, that, in case of any disturb-
 “ ance, they would immediately come to Hackney,
 “ evidently for the purpose of mischief. In this state
 “ of things, it is not to be wondered at, that, of many
 “ servants who were recommended to me, and some
 “ that were actually hired, very few could, for a
 “ long time, be prevailed upon to live with me*.”
 —“ My eldest son was settled in a business which
 “ promised to be very advantageous, at Manchester ;
 “ but his partner, though a man of liberality himself,
 “ informed him, on perceiving the general preva-
 “ lence of the spirit which produced the riots at Bir-
 “ mingham, that, owing to his relationship with *me*,
 “ he was under the necessity of proposing a separation,
 “ which accordingly took place.” —“ Many times
 “ I have been burnt in effigy along with Mr. Paine ;
 “ and numberless insulting and threatening letters
 “ have been sent to me from *all parts of the kingdom*.”
 —“ Ill treated as I had been, not merely by the po-
 “ pulace of Birmingham, but by *the country in general*,
 “ and afterwards by the *Representatives of the Nation*†,
 “ I own I was not without deliberating on the sub-
 “ ject of emigration.”

Was it a “ hazarded assertion,” then, to say that he fled into banishment, covered with the universal detestation of his countrymen ?

But though the above quotations most amply prove that he was detested by the whole nation, from the Peer to the Parish-boy, and that he was a volunteer emigrant, about as much as one of the hurlers that

* Servants in *England* have a character to preserve, I suppose.

† He might have made an exception or two here ; for, among the Lords, he had for advocate Earl Stanhope, whom an English author very aptly compares to *Praise-God Barebones*; and, among the Commons, he had the immaculate Charles Fox. A single word of praise from men like these would blast the character of a Saint.

our tarpawlings catch on the coast of Ireland, yet the real cause of his emigration remains to be explained.

While the Birmingham affair was fresh in the Doctor's mind, he says that he had some thoughts of emigration; but that, all things considered, he "determined to stay in England, exposed as he was to every kind of obloquy and insult." He therefore went to Hackney, to succeed his dear friend and fellow labourer of factious memory, Doctor Price. Here, as appears by his own words above quoted, the people disliked him so much, that he was obliged to remove to Clapton. At this place he found the peace and tranquillity he sought, and for that reason, says he, "I took a long lease of my house, and expended a considerable sum in improving it. I also determined, with the assistance of my friends, to resume my philosophical and other pursuits; and after an interruption amounting to about two years, it was with a pleasure that I cannot describe, that I entered my new laboratory, and began the most common preparatory processes, with a view to some *original inquiries*."

Here then we see him (in the month of August, 1793) in quiet possession of every thing he wanted to enjoy. What then could make him come off to America so soon after? If he had determined to stay, when exposed to every kind of obloquy and insult, what could make him fly away when no longer exposed to it? It must be allowed that the Doctor's passion for controversy and persecution is such as would excuse a belief that he grew angry with the people for letting him alone; but candour obliges me to confess, that this was not the case in the present instance; for he was going on very diligently with his processes and his "*original inquiries*." Yes, reader, it was these cursed "*original inquiries*" that did all the mischief. For the Doctor being in the height of them, happened to fall upon a WONDERFUL

DISCOVERY, which, though *erroneous*, was not *original*. However, all would yet have been safe, if he had kept it within the walls of his laboratory; but his communicative temper would not permit him to do this, and the unfortunate *wonderful discovery* made its public entry into the booksellers' shops on the 16th of November, 1793.

This brought him a "*New Year's Gift*" from Doctor Harrington, his old antagonist and his conqueror, as we shall see by the following extract from the Gentleman's Magazine for May, 1794:

" Doctor Priestley, immediately after the Birmingham riots, might be supposed to have real cause of alarm. But as his resolution withstood the first fury of the flood, it is rather extraordinary that he should now all at once turn coward, and fly to America. He must surely be greatly at a loss for solid reasons, when he thinks it worth while to advance such trifling circumstances as the gossiping of his servant-maid with the neighbours, or the foolish declaration of an individual before one of his congregation. But that the Doctor was able to brave these dreadful denunciations, and the terrors of his mind, appears from his venturing to take a long lease of his house, expending a considerable sum of money upon it, and accepting the contributions of his friends towards another apparatus, laboratory, &c. The Doctor, as a prudent man, would certainly not have expended his money thus, had he not fully determined again to remain in the kingdom.

" Then what, give me leave to ask, Mr. Urban, can have so lately happened to make him alter his resolution? As there appears to be something which the Doctor is at pains to conceal, it may be worth while to inquire what it is.

" Doctor Priestley, Sir, for many years, had been acquiring a very high degree of fame from his chemical

“ mical and philosophical experiments. According
 “ to his own account, it was this great reputation
 “ which gave him so much consequence in the eyes
 “ of the French philosophers, and which sanctioned
 “ his other pursuits. On the 16th of November last,
 “ he published a pamphlet in a very boasting and ex-
 “ ulting style, informing the world, that he had made
 “ a most important discovery, that water was formed
 “ of dephlogisticated and phlogisticated airs; the
 “ same airs, and the same proportions which your
 “ correspondent Doctor Harrington observes, that
 “ the Honourable Mr. Cavendish, from his mis-
 “ taken experiments, considers as constituting the
 “ nitrous acid. The absurdity of these opinions has
 “ been pointed out by Doctor Harrington in your
 “ Magazine for January and February last, in which
 “ it is most clearly and satisfactorily shown in what
 “ manner Doctor Priestley was mistaken: proving
 “ at the same time the real formation of the differ-
 “ ent airs, displaying the very great futility and the
 “ errors of our modern chemistry; and at the same
 “ time bringing the very heavy charge of plagiarism
 “ upon Doctor Priestley*.

“ As Doctor Priestley, in this last pamphlet, an-
 “ nounced his intention of publishing again very
 “ soon, having materials for another by him, ex-
 “ pressing apprehensions lest any person should in-
 “ terfere with him in these experiments, I expected
 “ every day to hear of the Doctor’s vindicating him-
 “ self and his opinions, answering the charges of
 “ Doctor Harrington, or acknowledging his philo-
 “ sophical mistakes. Instead of which, to my very
 “ great surprise, I am informed he is stealing off to
 “ America; thus leaving his antagonist master of
 “ the field, and only saying that the world may hear

* See the *New Year’s Gift* to Dr. Priestley, Gentleman’s Ma-
 gazine, for Jan. and Feb. 1794.

“ of him again in his chemical pursuits This is cer-
 “ tainly very different from what he gave us reason
 “ to expect, when he announced to the world, in his
 “ ostentatious pamphlet, that we might expect to
 “ hear regularly from him. But I think you will
 “ agree with me, that he has totally fled from his
 “ aerial chemistry, and, what is the most awkward
 “ and extraordinary thing of all, without one word
 “ of defence from the charges of philosophical pla-
 “ giarism.

“ It was not till Doctor Priestley received the New
 “ Year's Gift of your January and February Maga-
 “ zine, that he was in earnest about America. And
 “ I am informed, that he was so much afraid that he
 “ should receive another from the same valuable
 “ work, that he got on board the ship the very even-
 “ ing before the Magazine for the month of March
 “ made its appearance, although the ship was not
 “ likely to sail immediately.”

Was it a “ hazarded assertion,” then, to say that the great philosopher was accused and convicted of plagiarism, and that he staid in England till he saw no hopes of recovering a lost reputation?

It has been already observed, that the Doctor merited the universal odium he laboured under in England, and we find nothing in his justificatory preface to his farewell sermon (which was republished at Philadelphia as an indirect answer to the first edition of this pamphlet), that ought to induce us to reject this opinion. For it certainly will not be pretended that his being hated by King, Lords, and Commons, by high and low, rich and poor, Churchmen and Dissenters, proves him to be an innocent inoffensive man: on the contrary, if that trivial and favourite republican maxim, “ the voice of the people is the voice of God,” be founded in truth, then does the Doctor stand condemned by God as well as man.

But

But let us hear a little of what he says in his vindication.

After stating that he had been unjustly charged with being a seditious, factious politician, he says, "let any one only cast his eyes over the long list of my publications, and he will see that they relate almost wholly to *theology*, &c." And he has taken care to publish this list at Philadelphia, amounting to *seventy-five* different works. Yes; "by thy works shalt thou be judged," but not by the *number* of them.

He tells us he hardly ever meddled with *politics*, and in the very next paragraph acknowledges that he wrote a small anonymous pamphlet (when he was a younger man) in favour of *Wilkes and Liberty*. Mr. Wilkes had the good sense to retract most of the wild notions that the Doctor wrote to defend, and happy would it have been for the latter if he had profited from age, and from the example of his patron. Mr. Wilkes is now a determined champion of that constitution that the Doctor wanted to destroy; and accordingly he occupies one of the first offices in the first city in the world, while Doctor Priestley is a very insignificant settler in a town consisting of a couple of hundred of wooden houses.

Another work he wrote, addressed to the Dissenters, on the subject of the approaching war with America: which he says was *distributed in great numbers by his friends*, and *not without effect*. The subject of this work, and the good it was intended to do *his country*, are easily conceived, as he tells us it was written at the *request* of *Doctor Franklin*.—He does not tell us whether he was paid in sterling or continental money for this work.

On this occasion, the reader will please to bear in mind, that I am not pretending that *we* ought to dislike Doctor Priestley; for he is certainly as much

entitled

entitled to our gratitude and esteem as Arnold was to that of the British.

After this he says he meddled no more with *politics*, "except as far as the business of the *Test Act*, "and all *civil establishments of religion*, had a concern "with politics*." And yet he was *no factious politician!*

Boasting of his intimate connexion with Doctors Price and Franklin, is a droll way of proving the peaceableness of his disposition, and his attachment to his country. With full as much reason might he boast of being a relation of *Jenny Cameron* or *Guy Fawkes*.

Franklin, Price, and Priestley! A precious trio! well worthy of each other. Methinks I see them now in one of their dark consultations, like the three Weird Sisters round their caldron, brewing

"Double, double, toil and trouble:

"Fire, burn; and, caldron, bubble."

As for Benjamin Franklin, Esq. and soap-boiler, his character for *peaceableness* is as well known as his character for *gratitude* and *integrity*; and most people know that the "political divine," Price, spent the greater part of a too long life in endeavouring to blow up the flames of rebellion in England. He was one of the principal projectors of the famous college of dissenting Jesuits at Hackney, from whence

* This is the great stumbling-block of the English Dissenters. What can there be in this *Test Act* that makes them so unhappy? Why, it prevents them from obtaining—not the *kingdom of Heaven*, but *lucrative employments*. Is it not amazing, that people, who are so very godly that they cannot conform to the established religion of the country, should trouble themselves about places and pensions? They are continually telling us that their kingdom is not of this world, and yet they want to reign. I think, however, it would be but right to grant them what Helvetius was willing to grant the priests—every thing *above* the tops of the houses.

were to come the Titus Oates's of an Unitarian Plot*.

It is pretty clear that the preface, to which I have been so often obliged, was intended more to procure the Doctor a favourable reception *here*, than to reconcile him to his countrymen; and, in this respect, the thing was prudent, though the publishing of it in England was certainly a trait of insolence unparalleled even in the annals of Unitarianism. It was courting a kick on the breech by way of farewell salute; but even in this he was disappointed, and was at last obliged to come off without even so much as a box on the ear, to afford an excuse for his whining, and for the milkop fights of the New-York Societies.

I have heard many grave people, and by no means anarchists, express a sorrow for the ill usage Doctor Priestley received in England. But *how* was he ill used?—He was threatened;—people would not let him into their houses;—servants would not live with him;—a farmer would not learn his son husbandry;—a mechanic turned another son out of his partnership;—Doctor Horsley would not subscribe to his antichristian theology, nor Doctor Harrington to his aerial chemistry. Well, and what then? Do we call this ill usage? Grant me patience! have not the people of England a right to like and dislike whom they please as well as the people of America?

* When this pious old apostle of discord heard of the triumphs of the Paris mob, and of the bloody scenes that ensued, he exclaimed, "Lord, now let thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy *salvation*." Pretty *salvation* truly! According to my ideas of *damnation*, the scenes that have taken place in France since the revolution resemble it as much as any thing on earth can do. I am sure there has been a continual "weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth."

If, as I have already observed, he had fallen into the hands of a French mob—but stop; we have no occasion to cross the sea:—If he had fallen into the hands of an American mob, how would he have fared? Let us see.

“About twelve persons, armed and painted black, in the night of the 10th of June, broke into the house of *John Lynn*, where the office was kept, and after having seduced him to come down stairs, and put himself in their power, they seized him, threatened to hang him, took him to a retired spot in the neighbouring wood; and there, after cutting off his hair, tarring and feathering him, swore him never again to allow the use of his house for an excise-office: having done which, they bound him naked to a tree, and left him in that situation till morning. Not content with this, the malcontents, some days after, made him another visit, pulled down part of his house, and put him in a situation to be obliged to become an exile from his home, and to find an *asylum* elsewhere.”

This is no “hazarded assertion,” at any rate; unless Mr. Hamilton hazarded it; for it is taken from his Report to the President of the United States.

This mob stopped the mail, cut open the bags, and took out the letters. This mob *killed* several persons, took others prisoners, and used the *Marshal*, in particular, extremely cruelly: they even went so far as to present their pieces at him, with every appearance of an intention to assassinate. And yet, neither the *Marshal* nor *Lynn* has ever had any thoughts of *emigrating*.

Has any thing of this kind ever happened to Doctor Priestley? Has the weight of a single finger ever been laid upon him, or any of his family? “You have,” said the addressers at New-York, “fled
“ from

“ from the rude arm of violence, from the *rod* of
 “ lawless power.—We have learned with regret
 “ and indignation, the abandoned proceedings of
 “ those spoilers who destroyed your house and
 “ goods, ruined your philosophical apparatus and
 “ library, committed to the flames your manuscripts,
 “ pried into the secrets of your private papers, and,
 “ in their *barbarian fury*, put your life itself in
 “ *danger*.—We enter, Sir, with emotion and sympathy
 “ into the numerous sacrifices you must have
 “ made, to an undertaking which so eminently ex-
 “ hibits our country as an asylum for the persecuted
 “ and oppressed.” All this was extremely apropos
 in the midst of the Western insurrection. If it was
 “ *barbarian fury*” to put *life in danger*, what was it
 to *take life away*? The people over the mountains
 seem to have revolted on purpose to make these ad-
 dressers a laughing-stock. Are they not ashamed to
 have made a canting sympathetic address to a stran-
 ger, whose sufferings, if real, they knew nothing
 about, while they have borne with a more than
 stoic firmness, and *without a single address*, the well-
 known sufferings of their own countrymen? They
 want the Pittsburg affair forgotten; why then do
 they want to perpetuate the memory of the Bir-
 mingham riots? “Thou hypocrite, first cast the
 beam out of thine own eye; and then shalt
 thou see clearly to cast the mote out of thy brother’s
 eye.”

The Doctor complains again in his preface, of
 partiality in the courts of justice; and says, “I am
 “ not unaffected by the unexampled punishments
 “ of Mr. *Muir* and my friend Mr. *Palmer*, for
 “ offences, which, if in the eye of reason they
 “ be any at all, are slight, and *very insufficiently*
 “ *proved*. But the sentence of Mr. *Winterbotham*,
 “ for delivering from the pulpit *what I am persuaded*
 “ *he never did deliver*, and which, similar evidence

“ might have drawn down on myself, has something “ in it still more alarming.” Aye, aye, very alarming, without doubt, but nothing like Doctor Harrington's New Year's Gift.

This is another pretty bold trait of modesty and moderation. Here are three courts of justice, three grand and three petty juries, all condemned in the lump. If what the Doctor says be true, then were the English all become a nest of scoundrels and perjurers, except his innocent self, his three sons, and his worthy *friends* the Botany Bay convicts; but, if what he says be not true, what did he deserve at the hands of the English, for thus aiming a stab at their reputation?

There are some among us, who pretend to have a belief in this partial justice in Great Britain; and the hobgoblin accounts of it have been noised about these States, in a style that would have sounded well from the top of a chimney, or at the bar of a brothel; but, unfortunately for our political vultures, the trial of *Hardy* has undeceived every one that is capable of thinking.

When the account of this trial first arrived, it caused nearly as great joy among some people, as did the “ *taking of Amsterdam*,” or the sending of “ the *Duke of York* to Paris in an *iron cage* ;” in fact, it was almost of festive consequence. But this was soon perceived to be an egregious blunder. People began to reflect. What! said they, there is some justice left in England then? The nation is not become “ *one insular Bastille* ?”

What a chance would poor *Hardy* have stood before the Revolutionary Tribunal at Paris or Bourdeaux? Would he have had *eight days* trial? Would he have had *eight minutes*? Would the *sans-culotte* populace have carried him home amidst acclamations? No: unless it had been to his last home.— It appears that Messrs. Erskine and Gibbs have re-

ceived great and deserved applause for their able defence of an innocent man, and that the Government has not touched a hair of their heads.—Where is Monsieur *De Malesherbes*, the generous *De Malesherbes*, who stepped forth at the age of 75, to defend his innocent and deserted Sovereign? —Where is he?—Numbered with the dead! Gone to the receptacle of all that was estimable in France!—Neither his admired talents, his long and eminent services, his generous fidelity, his gray hairs, nor his spotless life, could save him from the fury of those regenerated ruffians, whom Doctor Priestley does not blush to call his “ dear fellow-citizens*.”

Every man that is condemned in England, whether it be by the public voice, or by a court of justice, is sure, according to some people, to be vilely treated.—The people are slaves;—the jury was packed. But how would this measure suit if meted to ourselves? A fellow, who was hanged here the other day, told the crowd, just as he was going off, that he had no doubt but the greater part of them merited the same fate†. This “ farewell sermon” was full as modest as Doctor Priestley’s; but if the English were to pretend to believe that the majority of us deserve the halter, should we not call them a set of narrow-souled, ill-natured, envious wretches? Certainly we should, and with a great deal of justice too.

I should here put an end to my observations, flattering myself that the whole business of the Doctor’s emigration has been set in a pretty fair light; but as he has lately published something, which he calls an *Answer to Paine’s Age of Reason*, and as he there

* Monf. De Seze, the second counsel of Louis XVI. saved his life by flight.

† See the American Daily Advertiser.

attempts to wipe off the charge of *deism*, I look upon myself as called upon to say a word or two in reply.

This *Answer* consists of a number of letters addressed to the *Philosophers* in France, and to a *philosophical* unbeliever. In the preface, the Doctor says, "The more I attend to this subject, the more sensible I am that no defence of Christianity can be of any avail till it be freed from the many *corruptions* and abuses which have *hitherto* encumbered it." Among these *corruptions* he numbers *atonement*, *incarnation*, and the *Trinity*; and, says he, "The *exposing* of these *corruptions* I therefore think to be the most essential preliminary to the defence of Christianity; and consequently I shall omit no fair opportunity of reprobating them in the strongest terms, to whatever odium I may expose myself." He has been as good as his word; for the whole piece appears to be an attack on the doctrine of the *Trinity*, rather than an *Answer* to Paine*.

He begins the first letter with telling us, that he has "read with pleasure, and even with enthusiasm, the *admirable* report of Robespierre on the subject of morals and religion." Now it is well known, that this report contained a regular plan for establishing a *deistical* worship in France; and it is also well known, that Paine wrote his book to flatter Ro-

* If the reader looks over the first and second chapters of the Gospel according to St. Matthew, he will see every thing that is necessary to confirm him in the doctrines that Doctor Priestley thinks it his duty to *reprobate in the strongest terms*. But the Doctor gets rid of this proof, which he knows to be in every one's hands, by telling us that those two chapters are "spurious;" that is to say, *false*. This is a knock-me-down argument. He will certainly tell us, that the first chapter of the Gospel of St. John is "spurious" also; and thus he may go on, till he leaves us but just enough text to make up an Unitarian creed,

bespierre, and by that mean to procure his own discharge from prison. How comes it then, that the Doctor should *admire* the principles of the one, and pretend to *answer* those of the other?

He very artfully cries off all acquaintance with Voltaire, Rousseau, and Gibbon; but he knows they are in a place whence they cannot answer him.—However, Gibbon left him a letter that he ought not to have forgotten so soon.—The Doctor, having no *wonderful discovery* upon his hands, wrote to Mr. Gibbon, not long before the death of the latter, challenging him to combat. This Mr. Gibbon very politely declined, by saying, that he could never bring himself to dispute with a person from whose writings he had, in a great measure, imbibed his principles; adding, that, if the Doctor was really become a convert to Christianity, since he had received the last answer from Doctor Horsley, he thought the probable remainder of his life was by no means too long to repair the injury the former part of it had done; and, therefore, advised him not to lose his time in vain and unprofitable dispute. If the Doctor had followed this salutary advice, we should have been spared the pain of seeing an old man turned of sixty, amusing himself and the world with a sham answer to the wild incoherent blasphemy of a poor unhappy wretch, whom disappointment and hunger had driven to despair, and who would have turned Turk, Jew, or even Eunuch, for an extraordinary biscuit or a bundle of straw*.

The Doctor boasts of his having been elected a deputy of the National Convention, and styles himself their “*highly honoured fellow-citizen.*” It is a subject both of wonder and regret, that he did not

* When we reflect on the degradation of this quondam legislator, it is some consolation that he is an Englishman.

prefer France to America; he was pressed to go there, which he never was to come here; there he would have done no harm, here he may. If he had gone to his adopted country, and accompanied his colleague, Paine, in his legislative career, he might have had an opportunity of *answering* him by word of mouth. The bottom of a dungeon would have been a very fit place for them to debate, like Milton's fallen Angels, on the surest means of sowing discord among mankind, and seducing them from their Maker.

One observation more on this *Answer* to Paine, and I dismiss it for ever.

The zealous *Answerer* boasts of his freedom as an *American*, at the same time that he calls himself *citizen of France* and a fellow of the *Royal Society of London*!—This is being, literally, “all things to all men.” With the English he is a *royalist*, with the Americans a *republican*, and with the French a *car-magnole*.—Thus the triple Goddess (under whose influence, Doctor Harrington swears, he acts) is called *Luna* in Heaven, *Diana* on Earth, and *Hecate* in Hell.

Before I bid the Doctor adieu, I should be glad to ask him how he finds himself in his “*asylum*.”—It is said, he has declared that the duplicity of our land-jobbers is more to be feared than the outrages of a Birmingham mob; and indeed, if all his complaints had had the same appearance of being well-founded, the public would never have been troubled with these Observations; for there is little doubt of his having been most cruelly fleeced. This honest profession, vulgarly called land-jobbing, a member of Congress very justly styled “*swindling upon a broad scale*,” it is, in fact, a South-Sea bubble upon *terra firma*, as hundreds and thousands of ruined foreigners, besides Doctor Priestley, can testify.

It is to be hoped that the Doctor's anger against his country is by this time nearly assuaged; dear-bought experience has at last taught him, that an Utopia never existed any where but in a delirious brain. He thought, like too many others, to find America a terrestrial Paradise; a Land of Canaan, where he would have nothing to do, but to open his mouth to swallow the milk and honey: but, alas! he is now convinced, I believe, that those who cultivate the fertile Leasowes of Warwickshire,

“Where all around the gen^{le}st breezes play,

“Where gentle music melts on every spray,”

have little reason to envy his rocks and his swamps, the music of his bull-frogs and the stings of his musquitoes.

In the preface, so often mentioned, the Doctor expresses a desire of one day returning to “the land that gave him birth;” and, no offence to the New-York addressers, I think we ought to wish that this desire may be very soon accomplished.—He is a bird of passage, that has visited us, only to avoid the rigour of an inclement season: when the reanimating sunshine of revolution shall burst forth on his native clime, we may hope to see him prune his wings, and take his flight from the dreary banks of the Susquehannah to those of the Thames or the Avon.

THE SHORT
BUT COMPREHENSIVE STORY
OF A
FARMER'S BULL.

A CERTAIN troublesome fellow, who turned his back upon the church, having occasion to pass through a large farm-yard in his way to a meeting-house, met with a fine majestic venerable old Bull lying down at his ease, and basking in the sunshine. This Bull was at times the tamest creature in the world ; he would suffer the curs to yelp at him, the flies to tease him, and even some of the mischievous fellows to pull him by the horns. He was at this very moment in one of his gentlest humours ruminating upon past and present scenes of delight ; contemplating the neighbouring dairy and the farm-yard, where the milch cows had all their bags distended till they were nearly running over ; the calves, and the pigs, and the poultry, were frisking, and grunting, and crowing on every dunghill ; the granaries were full, and the barns ready to burst ; there was, besides, many a goodly rick of wheat, and barley, and oats, and peas, and beans, and hay, and ryegrass and clover. The dairy was full of curds, and cream, and butter, and cheese of every kind. To be sure, there was plenty for the master and his family,

mily, and all the servants, and every body belonging to the farm. Nay, those that were poor and needy, and idle, and lazy, and sick, and proud, and saucy, and old, and infirm, and filly, were freely supplied; and even this troublesome fellow himself, notwithstanding he had long since quarrelled with the head farmer and all his best friends, and an old grudge was still subsisting betwixt them, yet, upon making at any time a solemn promise to do no mischief, had free ingress, egress, and regress, in every part of the farm and the dairy, and was at liberty to help himself wherever he liked. In short, he was allowed to do any thing but *skim the cream*, and set *his own mark upon the butter*.

Now, because the Bull had happened to place himself across his favourite foot-path, although there was plenty of room to the right and to the left, nothing would satisfy this impudent fellow but he must kick *Old John*, for that was the Bull's name, out of his way: and all the world agrees that *John* suffered him to kick a long while, before he showed the least inclination to rise and resent the affront. At last, however, he got upon his legs, and began to look round him, but still it was a look of contempt only, which the foolish fellow mistook for the marks of fear; and now, growing bolder and bolder, and hallooing the curs, and calling all his comrades to prick and goad him in the tenderest parts of his body, the Bull began to threaten and roar; this was on the 14th of July, one of the hottest days in the summer, when somebody threw a fiery flick under his tail, at the very moment that a parcel of impudent half-witted fellows were trying to flourish a French flambeau (lighted and blazing at both ends) full in his face. No wonder that the Bull should set off with a vengeance in the street:—down went the gingerbread-stalls, and the hardware-shops, buckle-menders, and the razor-grinders, and the dagger-makers: he even
got

got into private houses, and in one place threw down whole baskets full of bottles and chemical glasses, crucibles and gun-barrels; smash went all the jars of inflammable air, which instantly took fire, and spread all over the place; every thing went to rack and ruin; nothing was safe; even the religious houses themselves, where nothing had ever been heard but the most pious exhortations (like those of Doctor Vicefinus Knox) to peace and harmony, and obedience to the governing powers. In short, nothing could pacify or put a stop to the fury of this poor enraged animal, till his honest master the farmer, as quiet and as good a kind of church-going man as ever lived in the world, father of a large family, hearing of the rumpus, sent a number of his best and steadiest old servants to muzzle the beast, which had already tossed the fellow with the fiery stick over the tops of the houses, and gored him in fifty different places. It was next to a miracle that he escaped with his life; and every body thought he had reason to be thankful that he got off so well as he did; but no sooner did he find himself safe in a *hackney-coach*, than, to the astonishment of all the world, he began to *preach* up his innocence, and to lodge a complaint against poor *Old John*, who, in the end, suffered a great deal more than himself. Some silly people pitied him, some laughed at him; others again were wicked enough to wish him at the devil: even his best friends were ashamed of him: and although they, one and all, defended him as much as they could in public, there was a confounded deal of muttering and grumbling in private. "I thought what it would come to," said one; "a pretty method of driving a mad Bull through the church pales," said another.

But to go on with my story; no sooner was the Bull fairly muzzled, and properly confined, than the friends and neighbours on both sides were called in,

in, to inquire into the whole affair; but there were so many contradictory stories, that it was impossible to come at the truth, how it happened, or who had first provoked him; but since it was plain to every body that *Old John* did the mischief, and as he was proved to be the town Bull, it was at last settled that the parish should pay all the damages for not keeping him in better order.

And here again was fresh matter for discontent; some thought it hard to pay for all the inflammable air, which had done full as much mischief as the Bull. Others again objected to a monstrous out of the way heavy demand for a large quantity (several reams) of foolscap paper, which had been scribbled upon and spoiled long before the affair happened. Indeed, in the opinion of some sensible persons, it was fit for nothing but kindling the fire.

But the strangest part of the story remains to be told; for when this bustle was all over and settled, and every body thought the perverse fellow was going to take to his church, and get his living in an honest way, what did he do but set to work bottling up his own f-rts, and selling them for superfine inflammable air, and what's still worse, had the impudence to want a patent for the *discovery*; and, indeed, a good many people were deceived for a long time; but, they say, two of a trade can never agree, and so it happened here; for a brother trade one day caught him at his dirty tricks, and exposed him to the whole parish. After this all the neighbours cried shame on him: the women laughed, the girls they tittered, even the little boys pointed at him, and made game of him as he went along the street. In short, one dark night, when all the neighbourhood was quiet and every body fast asleep, up he got, and set off into the next parish bag and baggage.

Here he trumped up a terrible story, pretended to be frightened to death, and swore and d——d his
soul

foul if the Bull was not just at his heels. The good folks (who, by the by, had a monstrous grudge against *Old John*) believed him at once; and now there was the devil to do again; the women screamed and fell into fits, out ran the men and boys with broomsticks, and pitchforks, and scalping-knives, to kill the Bull: but it was all a sham, for poor *Old John* was quiet at home, grazing in the meadow, up to his eyes in clover, and blue-bells, and daffodils, and cowslips, and primroses, as contented as a lamb, and neither thinking nor caring any more about the fellow with the fiery stick, than about one of the flies that he was brushing off with his tail.

But the worst of all is to come yet: for while these silly people were running about and making a hue and cry against *Old John*, their *own Bull* (a thirsty beast that they had penned up in a barren lot, without any pond or watering-place) broke loose, and did ten times more mischief than *John* had ever done*. This made a fine laugh all round the country; every body said it served them just right; and to be sure it did, for they should have looked at home, and minded their own Bull, and not run bawling about after *Old John*.

* Alluding, under the character of *their own Bull*, to the insurrection, which, when this tract was published, had just broken out in the Western counties of Pennsylvania. The people in those counties refused to conform to an excise law, laying a tax on *whiskey*. They took up arms, committed many violences, and several murders. The insurrection, at one time, assumed a very formidable aspect; but by the spirited conduct of the Federal Government, it was, though at a vast expense, happily put an end to. While America was in this situation, it was perfectly ridiculous to hear Americans reviling the *Government of Great Britain* on account of the Birmingham riots.

ACCOUNT
OF THE
INSURRECTION
IN THE
WESTERN COUNTIES
OF
PENNSYLVANIA,
IN 1794.



ACCOUNT

OF THE

WESTERN INSURRECTION.

AMONGST all the itinerant philosophers, who have embarked for the United States in search of that order, peace, and universal love, which they have declared to be the natural fruit of republican government, no one ever arrived at a more unlucky period than Doctor Priestley. A rebellion, and a rebellion on account of *taxes* too, had just broken out as he set his foot on the shore. As this rebellion is the principal event which took place in America during the latter months of 1794, I shall make it, principally, the subject of the *chapsu* between the publication of PRIESTLEY'S EMIGRATION and the BONE TO GNAW FOR THE DEMOCRATS.

In the *Summary View* the rise of rebellion has been traced back to the principles imbibed from the American revolution, brought into action by the recent example of the rebels in France, and by the immediate influence of the Democratic or Jacobin Societies established in the United States. Its progress to the time that it was found necessary to levy an army for its suppression, cannot be more clearly or accurately described than it was done in the statement of Mr. Alexander Hamilton, then Secretary of the Treasury, whose Report on the subject I here insert at length.

“ *Treasury*

“ *Treasury Department, August 16, 1794.*

“ SIR,

“ It appears probable, that advantages will result from giving to the citizens at large full information on the subject of the disturbances which exist in the western parts of Pennsylvania. With this view, if no objection to the measure should occur to you, I would cause a publication to be made of the Report which I had the honour to address to you, dated the 5th inst.

“ With the most perfect respect,

“ I have the honour to be, Sir,

“ Your most obedient and humble servant,

“ ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

“ *The President of the
United States.*”

“ SIR, *United States, 19th August, 1794.*

“ I am directed by the President to inform you, in reply to your letter of the 16th instant, that, relying that the facts contained in the Report have been stated with due care, and from authentic sources, he perceives no objection to the publication of it, as proposed.

I am, &c.

“ Your most obedient servant,

“ B. DAINDRIDGE.

“ *The Secretary of the Treasury.*”

“ SIR, *Treasury Department, August 5th, 1794.*

“ The disagreeable crisis at which matters have lately arrived in some of the western counties of Pennsylvania, with regard to the laws laying duties on spirits distilled within the United States, and on stills, seems to render proper a review of the circumstances which have attended those laws in that scene, from their commencement to the present time, and of the conduct which has hitherto been observed on the part of the Government, its motive and effect—in order

order to a better judgment of the measures necessary to be pursued in the existing emergency.

“ The opposition to those laws in the four most western counties of Pennsylvania (Alleghany, Washington, Fayette, and Westmoreland) commenced as early as they were known to have been passed. It has continued, with different degrees of violence, in the different counties, and at different periods. But Washington has uniformly distinguished its resistance, by a more excessive spirit than has appeared in the other counties, and seems to have been chiefly instrumental in kindling and keeping alive the flame.

“ The opposition first manifested itself in the milder shape of the circulation of opinions unfavourable to the law, and calculated, by the influence of public esteem, to discourage the accepting or holding of offices under it, or the complying with it by those who might be so disposed ; to which was added the show of a discontinuance of the business of distilling.

“ These expedients were shortly after succeeded by private associations to *forbear* compliance with the law. But it was not long before these more negative modes of opposition were perceived to be likely to prove ineffectual. And in proportion as this was the case, and as the means of introducing the laws into operation were put into execution, the disposition to resistance became more turbulent and more inclined to adopt and practise violent expedients. The officers now began to experience marks of contempt and insult. Threats against them became frequent and loud ; and after some time, these threats were ripened into acts of ill treatment and outrage.

“ These acts of violence were preceded by certain meetings of malcontent persons, who entered into resolutions calculated at once to confirm, inflame, and systematize the spirit of opposition.

“ The first of these meetings was holden at a place
VOL. I. a called

called Red Stone Old Fort, on the 27th of July, 1791, where it was concerted that county committees should be convened in the four counties, at the respective seats of justice therein. On the 23d of August following, one of these committees assembled in the county of Washington.

“ This meeting passed some intemperate resolutions, which were afterwards printed in the Pittsburg Gazette, containing a strong censure on the law, declaring that any person *who had accepted or might accept an office under Congress, in order to carry it into effect, should be considered as inimical to the interests of the country; and recommending to the Citizens of Washington county to treat every person who had accepted or might hereafter accept any such office, with contempt, and absolutely to refuse all kinds of communication or intercourse with the officers, and to withhold from them all aid, support, or comfort.*

“ Not content with this vindictive proscription of those who might esteem it their duty, in the capacity of officers, to aid in the execution of the constitutional laws of the land, the meeting proceeded to accumulate topics of crimination of the Government, though foreign to each other; authorizing, by this zeal for censure, a suspicion that they were actuated, not merely by the dislike of a particular law, but by a disposition to render the Government itself unpopular and odious.

“ This meeting, in further prosecution of their plan, deputed three of their members to meet delegates from the counties of Westmoreland, Fayette, and Alleghany, on the 1st Tuesday of September following, for the purpose of expressing the sense of the people of those counties in an address to the Legislature of the United States, upon the subject of the Excise Law and *other grievances.*

“ Another meeting accordingly took place on the 7th of September, 1791, at Pittsburg, in the county
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of Alleghany, at which there appeared persons in character of delegates from the four western counties.

“ This meeting entered into resolutions more comprehensive in their objects, and not less inflammatory in their tendency, than those which had before passed the meeting in Washington. Their resolutions contained severe censures not only on the law which was the immediate subject of objection, but upon what they termed the exorbitant salaries of officers; the unreasonable interest of the public debt; the want of discrimination between original holders and transferees, and the institution of a national bank.

“ The same unfriendly temper towards the Government of the United States, which seemed to have led out of their way the meeting at Washington, appears to have produced a similar wandering in that at Pittsburg.

“ A representation to Congress, and a remonstrance to the Legislature of Pennsylvania against the law more particularly complained of, were prepared by this meeting, published together with their other proceedings in the Pittsburg Gazette, and afterwards presented to the respective bodies to whom they were addressed.

“ These meetings, composed of very influential individuals, and conducted without moderation or prudence, are justly chargeable with the excesses which have been from time to time committed; serving to give consistency to an opposition which has at length matured to a point that threatens the foundations of the Government and of the Union, unless speedily and effectually subdued.

“ On the 6th of the same month of September, the opposition broke out in an act of violence upon the person and property of Robert Johnson, collector of the revenue for the counties of Alleghany and Washington.

“ A party of men, armed and disguised, waylaid him

him at a place on Pigeon Creek, in Washington county, seized, tarred and feathered him, cut off his hair, and deprived him of his horse, obliging him to travel on foot a considerable distance in that mortifying and painful situation.

“ The case was brought before the district court of Pennsylvania, out of which processes issued against John Robertson, John Hamilton, and Thomas M'Comb, three of the persons concerned in the outrage.

“ The serving of these processes was confided by the then Marshal, Clement Biddle, to his deputy Joseph Fox, who in the month of October went into Alleghany county for the purpose of serving them.

“ The appearance and circumstances, which Mr. Fox observed himself in the course of his journey, and learnt afterwards upon his arrival at Pittsburg, had the effect of deterring him from the service of the processes, and unfortunately led to adopt the injudicious and fruitless expedient of sending them to the parties by a private messenger, under cover.

“ The Deputy's report to the Marshal states a number of particulars, evincing a considerable fermentation in the part of the county to which he was sent, and inducing a belief on his part, that he could not with safety have executed the processes. The Marshal, transmitting this report to the district attorney, makes the following observations upon it.

“ I am sorry to add, that he (the Deputy) found the people in general in the western part of the State at, and particularly beyond, the Alleghany mountains, in such a ferment on account of the act of Congress for laying a duty on distilled spirits, and so many opposed to the execution of the said act, and from a variety of threats to himself personally, although he took the utmost precaution to conceal his errand, that he was not only convinced of the impossibility of serving the process, but that any attempt
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to effect it would have occasioned the most violent opposition from the greater part of the inhabitants; and he declares that if he had attempted it, he believes he should not have returned alive.

“ I spared no expense nor pains to have the process of the court executed, and have not the least doubt that my deputy would have accomplished it, if it could have been done.

“ The reality of the danger to the Deputy was countenanced by the opinion of Gen. Neville, the inspector of the revenue; a man who before had given, and since has given, numerous proofs of a steady and firm temper; and what followed is a further confirmation of it.

“ The person who had been sent with the processes, was seized, whipped, tarred, and feathered; and after having his money and horse taken from him, was blindfolded and tied in the woods; in which condition he remained for five hours.

“ Very serious reflections naturally occurred upon this occasion. It seemed highly probable, from the issue of the experiment which had been made, that the ordinary course of civil process would be ineffectual for enforcing the execution of the law in the scene in question, and that a perseverance in this course might lead to a serious concussion. The law itself was still in the infancy of its operation, and far from established in other important portions of the Union. Prejudices against it had been industriously disseminated, misrepresentations diffused, misconceptions fostered. The Legislature of the United States had not yet organized the means by which the Executive could come in aid of the Judiciary, when found incompetent to the execution of the laws. If neither of these impediments to a decisive exertion had existed, it was desirable, especially in a republican Government, to avoid what is in such cases the

ultimate resort, till all the milder means had been tried without success.

“ Under the united influence of these considerations, it appeared advisable to forbear urging coercive measures, till the laws had gone into more extensive operation ; till further time for reflection and experience of its operation had served to correct false impressions, and inspire greater moderation ; and till the Legislature had had an opportunity, by a revision of the law, to remove, as far as possible, objections, and to reinforce the provisions for securing its execution.

“ Other incidents occurred from time to time, which are further proofs of the very improper temper that prevailed among the inhabitants of the refractory counties.

“ Mr. Johnson was not the only officer, who about the same period experienced outrage. Mr. Wells, collector of the revenue for Westmoreland and Fayette, was also ill-treated at Greensburg and Union Town ; nor were the outrages perpetrated confined to the officers ; they extended to private citizens, who only dared to show their respect for the laws of their country.

“ Some time in October, 1791, an unhappy man, of the name of Wilson, a stranger in the country, and manifestly disordered in his intellects, imagining himself to be a collector of the revenue, or invested with some trust in relation to it, was so unlucky as to make inquiries concerning the distillers who had entered their stills ; giving out that he was to travel through the United States, to ascertain and report to Congress the number of stills, &c. This man was pursued by a party in disguise, taken out of his bed, carried about five miles back, to a smith's shop, stripped of his clothes, which were afterwards burnt, and after having been himself inhumanly burnt in several places, with a heated iron, was tarred and feathered,
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and about daylight dismissed, naked, wounded, and otherwise in a very suffering condition. These particulars are communicated in a letter from the Inspector of the revenue, of the 17th of November, who declares that he had then himself seen the unfortunate maniac, the abuse of whom, as he expresses it, exceeded description, and was sufficient to make human nature shudder. The affair is the more extraordinary, as persons of weight and consideration in that country are understood to have been actors in it, and as the symptoms of insanity were during the whole time of inflicting the punishment apparent—the unhappy sufferer displaying the heroic fortitude of a man who conceived himself to be a martyr to the discharge of some important duty.

“ Not long after a person of the name of Rosc- berry underwent the humiliating punishment of tarring and feathering with some aggravations, for having in conversation hazarded the very natural and just, but unpalatable remark, that the inhabitants of that country could not reasonably expect protection from a Government whose laws they so strenuously opposed.

“ The audacity of the perpetrators of these excesses was so great, that an armed banditti ventured to seize and carry off two persons, who were witnesses against the rioters in the case of Wilson, in order to prevent their giving testimony of the riot to a court then sitting, or about to sit.

“ Designs of personal violence against the Inspector of the revenue himself, to force him to a resignation, were repeatedly attempted to be put in execution by armed parties, but by different circumstances were frustrated.

“ In the session of Congress which commenced in October, 1791, the law, laying a duty on distilled spirits and stills, came under the revision of Congress, as had been anticipated. By an act passed May 8th,

1792, during that session, material alterations were made in it: among these, the duty was reduced to a rate so moderate, as to have silenced complaint on that head; and a new and very favourable alternative was given to the distiller, that of paying a monthly instead of a yearly rate, according to the capacity of his still, with liberty to take a license for the precise term which he should intend to work it, and to renew that license for a farther term or time.

“ The amending act, in its progress through the Legislature, engaged the particular attention of members who themselves were interested in distilleries, and of others who represented parts of the country in which the business of distilling was extensively carried on.

“ Objections were well considered, and great pains taken to obviate all such as had the semblance of reasonableness.

“ The effect has in a great measure corresponded with the views of the Legislature. Opposition has subsided in several districts where it before prevailed; and it was natural to entertain and not easy to abandon a hope, that the same thing would by degrees have taken place in the four western counties of this State.

“ But notwithstanding some flattering appearances at particular junctures, and infinite pains by various expedients to produce the desirable issue, the hope entertained has never been realized, and is now at an end, as far as the ordinary means of executing laws are concerned.

“ The first law had left the number and positions of the officers of inspection, which were to be established in each district for receiving entries of stills, to the discretion of the supervisor. The second, to secure a due accommodation to distillers, provides peremptorily, that there shall be one in each county.

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“ The idea was immediately embraced, that it was a very important point in the scheme of opposition to the law to prevent the establishment of offices in the respective counties.

“ For this purpose, the intimidation of well-disposed inhabitants was added to the plan of molesting and obstructing the officers by force or otherwise, as might be necessary. So effectually was the first point carried (the certain destruction of property, and the peril of life being involved), that it became almost impracticable to obtain suitable places for offices in some of the counties ; and, when obtained, it was found a matter of necessity in almost every instance to abandon them.

“ After much effort, the Inspector of the revenue succeeded in procuring the house of William Faulkner, a Captain in the army, for an office of inspection in the county of Washington. This took place in August, 1792. The office was attended by the Inspector of the revenue in person, till prevented by the following incidents :

“ Captain Faulkner being in pursuit of some deserters from the troops, was encountered by a number of people, in the same neighbourhood where Mr. Johnson had been ill-treated the preceding year, who reproached him with letting his house for an office of inspection, drew a knife upon him, threatened to scalp him, tar and feather him, and reduce his house and property to ashes, if he did not solemnly promise to prevent the further use of his house for an office. Captain Faulkner was induced to make the promise exacted : and, in consequence of the circumstance, wrote a letter to the Inspector, dated the 20th of August, countermanding the permission for using his house ; and the day following gave a public notice in the Pittsburg Gazette, that the office of inspection should be no longer kept there.

“ At the same time another engine of opposition was

was in operation. Agreeable to a previous notification, there met at Pittsburg, on the 21st of August, a number of persons styling themselves 'A meeting of sundry inhabitants of the western counties of Pennsylvania.'

" This meeting entered into resolutions not less exceptionable than those of its predecessors. The preamble suggests that a tax on spirituous liquors is unjust in itself, and oppressive upon the poor; that *internal taxes upon consumption* must in the end destroy the liberties of every country in which they are introduced; that the law in question, from certain local circumstances which are specified, would bring immediate distress and ruin upon the western country; and concludes with the sentiment, that they think it their duty to persist in remonstrances to Congress, and in every other *legal* measure, that may obstruct the *operation* of the law.

" The resolutions then proceed first to appoint a Committee to prepare and cause to be presented to Congress, an address stating objections to the law, and praying for its repeal—Secondly, to appoint Committees of correspondence for Washington, Fayette, and Alleghany, charged to correspond together, and with such Committee as should be appointed for the same purpose in the county of Westmoreland, or with any Committees of a similar nature, that might be appointed in other parts of the United States; and also, if found necessary, to call together either general meetings of the people in their respective counties, or concurrences of the several Committees, and lastly to declare that they will in future consider those who hold offices for the collection of the duty, as unworthy of their friendship, that they will have *no intercourse nor dealings with them*, will *withdraw from them every assistance*, withhold all the comforts of life which depend upon those duties that as men and fellow-citizens we owe to each other, and will upon all occasions treat

them with contempt ; earnestly RECOMMENDING IT TO THE PEOPLE AT LARGE, TO FOLLOW THE SAME LINE OF CONDUCT TOWARDS THEM.

“ The idea of pursuing *legal* measures to *obstruct* the *operation* of a *law*, needs little comment. Legal measures may be pursued to procure the repeal of a law, but to *obstruct its operation* presents a contradiction in terms. The *operation*, or, what is the same thing, the *execution* of a *law*, cannot be *obstructed* after it has been constitutionally enacted, without illegality and crime. The expression quoted is one of those phrases, which can only be used to conceal a disorderly and culpable intention under forms that may escape the hold of the law.

“ Neither was it difficult to perceive that the anathema pronounced against the officers of the revenue, placed them in a state of virtual outlawry, and operated as a signal to all those who were bold enough to encounter the guilt and the danger, to violate both their lives and their properties.

“ The foregoing proceedings, as soon as known, were reported by the Secretary of the Treasury to the President. The President, on the 15th of September, 1792, issued a proclamation, ‘ earnestly admonishing and exhorting all persons whom it may concern, to refrain and desist from all unlawful combinations and proceedings whatsoever, having for object or tending to obstruct the operation of the laws aforesaid, inasmuch as all lawful ways and means would be put in execution, for bringing to justice the infractors thereof, and securing obedience thereto ; and moreover, charging and requiring all courts, magistrates, and officers, whom it might concern, according to the duties of their several offices, to exert the powers in them respectively vested by law for the purposes aforesaid ; thereby also enjoining and requiring all persons whomsoever, as they tendered the welfare of their country, the just and due authority

city of Government, and the preservation of the public peace, to be aiding and assisting therein according to law ;' and likewise directed that prosecutions might be instituted against the offenders, in the cases in which the laws would support, and the requisite evidence could be obtained.

" Pursuant to these instructions, the Attorney-general, in co-operation with the Attorney of the district, attended a circuit court which was holden at York Town, in October, 1792, for the purpose of bringing forward prosecutions in the proper cases.

" Collateral measures were taken to procure for this purpose the necessary evidence.

" The Supervisor of the revenue was sent into the opposing survey, to ascertain the real state of that survey ; to obtain evidence of the persons who were concerned in the riot in Faulkner's case, and of those who composed the meeting at Pittsburg ; to uphold the confidence and encourage the perseverance of the officers acting under the law ; and to induce, if possible, the inhabitants of that part of the survey, which appeared least disinclined, to come voluntarily into the law, by arguments addressed to their sense of duty, and exhibiting the eventual dangers and mischiefs of resistance.

" The mission of the Supervisor had no other fruit than that of obtaining evidence of the persons who composed the meeting at Pittsburg, and of two who were understood to be concerned in the riot ; and a confirmation of the enmity which certain active and designing leaders had industriously infused into a large proportion of the inhabitants, not against the particular laws in question only, but of a more ancient date, against the Government of the United States itself.

" The then Attorney-general being of opinion that it was at best a doubtful point whether the proceedings of the meetings at Pittsburg contained in-

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dictable matter, no prosecution was attempted against those who composed it, though, if the ground for proceeding against them had appeared to be firm, it is presumed that the truest policy would have dictated that course.

“ Indictments were preferred to the circuit court, and found against the two persons understood to have been concerned in the riot; and the usual measures were taken for carrying them into effect.

“ But it appearing afterwards, from various representations, supported by satisfactory testimony, that there had been some mistake as to the persons accused, justice and policy demanded that the prosecutions should be discontinued; which was accordingly done.

“ The issue of the business unavoidably defeated the attempt to establish examples of the punishment of persons who engaged in a violent resistance to the laws, and left the officers to struggle against the stream of resistance, without the advantage of such examples.

“ The following plan, afterwards successively put in execution, was about this time digested, for carrying, if possible, the laws into effect, without the necessity of recurring to force:

“ 1. To prosecute delinquents in the cases in which it could be clearly done for non-compliance with the laws. 2. To intercept the markets for the surplus produce of the distilleries of the non-complying counties, by seizing the spirits in the way to those markets, in places where it could be effected without opposition. 3. By purchases, through agents, for the use of the army (instead of deriving the supply through contractors as formerly), confining them to spirits, in respect to which there had been a compliance with the laws.

“ The motives to this plan speak for themselves: it aimed, besides the influence of penalties on delinquents,

quents, at making it the general interest of the distillers to comply with the laws, by interrupting the market for a very considerable surplus, and by, at the same time, confining the benefit of the large demand for public service to those who did their duty to the public, and furnishing, through the means of payments in cash, that medium for paying the duties, the want of which was alleged to be a great difficulty in the way of compliance.

“ But two circumstances conspired to counteract the success of the plan ; one, the necessity towards incurring the penalties of non-compliance, of there being an officer of inspection in each county, which was prevented in some of the counties by the means of intimidation practised for that purpose ; another, the non-extension of the law to the territory northwest of the Ohio, into which a large proportion of the surplus before mentioned was sent.

“ A cure for these defects could only come from the Legislature. Accordingly, in the session which began in November, 1792, measures were taken for procuring a further revision of the laws. A bill containing amendments of those and other defects was brought in ; but it so happened that this object, by reason of more urgent business, was deferred till towards the close of the session, and finally went off through the usual hurry of that period.

“ The continuance of the embarrassment incident to this state of things, naturally tended to diminish much the efficacy of the plan which had been devised ; yet it was resolved, as far as legal provisions would bear out the officers, to pursue it with perseverance : there was ground to entertain hopes of its good effect ; and it was certainly the most likely course which could have been adopted towards attaining the object of the laws by means short of force, evincing, unequivocally, the sincere disposition to avoid
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this painful resort, and the steady moderation which has characterized the measures of the Government.

“ In pursuance of this plan, prosecutions were occasionally instituted in the mildest forms, seizures were made as opportunities occurred, and purchases on public account were carried on.

“ It may be incidentally remarked, that these purchases were extending to other places ; where, though the same disorders did not exist, it appeared advisable to facilitate the payment of the duties by this species of accommodation.

“ Nor was this plan, notwithstanding the deficiency of legal provision which impeded its full execution, without corresponding effects.

“ Symptoms from time to time appeared which authorized expectation, that with the aid, at another session, of the desired supplementary provisions, it was capable of accomplishing its end, if no extraordinary events occurred.

“ The opponents of the laws, not insensible of the tendency of that plan, nor of the defects in the laws which interfered with it, did not fail from time to time to pursue analogous modes of counteraction. The effort to frustrate the establishment of offices of inspection, in particular, was persisted in and even increased ; means of intimidating officers and others continued to be exerted.

“ In April, 1793, a party of armed men, in disguise, made an attack in the night upon the house of a collector of revenue, who resided in Fayette county ; but he happening to be from home, they contented themselves with breaking open his house, threatening, terrifying, and abusing his family.

“ Warrants were issued for apprehending some of the rioters upon this occasion, by Isaac Mason and James Findley, assistant Judges of Fayette county, which were delivered to the Sheriff of that county, who,

who, it seems, refused to execute them ; for which he has since been indicted.

“ This is at once an example of a disposition to support the laws of the Union, and of an opposite one, in the local officers of Pennsylvania within the non-complying scene : but it is a truth too important not to be noticed, and too injurious not to be lamented, that the prevailing spirit of those officers has been either hostile or lukewarm to the execution of those laws, and that the weight of an unfriendly official influence has been one of the most serious obstacles with which they have had to struggle.

“ In June following, the Inspector of the revenue was burnt in effigy in Alleghany county, at a place and on a day of some public election, with much display, in the presence of, and without interruption from magistrates and other public officers.

“ On the night of the 22d of November, another party of men, some of them armed, and all in disguise, went to the house of the same collector of Fayette, which had been visited in April, broke and entered it, and demanded a surrender of the officer's commission and official books. Upon his refusing to deliver them up, they presented pistols at him, and swore, that, if he did not comply, they would instantly put him to death. At length a surrender of the commission and books was enforced ; but not content with this, the rioters, before they departed, required of the officer that he should, within two weeks, publish his resignation, on pain of another visit and the destruction of his house.

“ Notwithstanding these excesses, the laws appeared, during the latter periods of this year (1793), to be rather gaining ground : several principal distillers, who had formerly held out, complied, and others discovered a disposition to comply, which was only restrained by the fear of violence.

“ But these favourable circumstances served to beget

beget alarm among those who were determined, at all events, to prevent the quiet establishment of the laws : it soon appeared that they meditated, by fresh and greater excesses, to aim a still more effectual blow at them, to subdue the growing spirit of compliance, and to destroy entirely the organs of the laws within that part of the country, by compelling all the officers to renounce their offices.

“ The last proceeding, in the case of the Collector of Fayette, was in this spirit. In January of the present year, further violences appear to have been perpetrated. William Richmond, who had given information against some of the rioters, in the affair of WILSON, had his barn burnt, with all the grain and hay which it contained ; and the same thing happened to Robert Shawhan, a distiller, who had been among the first to comply with the law, and who had always spoken favourably of it ; but in neither of these instances (which happened in the county of Alleghany), though the presumptions were violent, was any positive proof obtained.

“ The Inspector of the revenue, in a letter of the 27th of February, writes, that he had received information, that persons living near the dividing line of Alleghany and Washington, had thrown out threats of tarring and feathering one William Cochran, a complying distiller, and of burning his distillery ; and that it had also been given out, that in three weeks there would not be a house standing in Alleghany county, of any person who had complied with the laws ; in consequence of which he had been induced to pay a visit to several leading individuals in that quarter, as well to ascertain the truth of the information as to endeavour to avert the attempt to execute such threats.

“ It appeared afterwards, that on his return home he had been pursued by a collection of disorderly persons, threatening, as they went along,

vengeance against him. On their way these men called at the house of James Kiddoe, who had recently complied with the laws, broke into his still-house, fired several balls under his still, and scattered fire over and about the house.

“ Letters from the Inspector in March, announce an increased activity in promoting opposition to the laws; frequent meetings to cement and extend the combinations against it; and among other means for this purpose, a plan of collecting a force to seize him, compel him to resign his commission, and detain him prisoner, probably as a hostage.

“ In May and June new violences were committed. James Kiddoe, the person above mentioned, and William Cochran, another complying distiller, met with repeated injury to their property. Kiddoe had parts of his grist-mill, at different times, carried away; and Cochran suffered more material injuries: his still was destroyed, his saw-mill was rendered useless by the taking away of the saw, and his grist-mill so injured as to require to be repaired at considerable expense.

“ At the last visit a note in writing was left, requiring him to publish what he had suffered in the Pittsburg Gazette, on pain of another visit, in which he is threatened in figurative, but intelligible terms, with the destruction of his property by fire; thus adding to the profligacy of doing wanton injuries to a fellow-citizen, the tyranny of compelling him to be the publisher of his wrongs.

“ June being the month for receiving annual entries of stills, endeavours were used to open offices in Westmoreland and Washington, where it had been hitherto found impracticable. With much pains and difficulty places were procured for the purpose; that in Westmoreland was repeatedly attacked in the night by armed men, who frequently fired upon it; but according to a report which has been
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made to this department, it was defended with so much courage and perseverance by John Wells, an auxiliary officer, and Philip Ragan, the owner of the house, as to have been maintained during the remainder of the month.

“ That in Washington, after repeated attempts, was suppressed. The first attempt was confined to pulling down the sign of the office, and threats of future destruction. The second effected the object in the following mode:—About twelve persons, armed and painted black, in the night of the 6th of June, broke into the house of John Lynn, where the office was kept, and after having treacherously seduced him to come down stairs, and put himself in their power by a promise of safety to himself and his house, they seized and tied him, threatened to hang him, took him to a retired spot in the neighbouring wood, and there, after cutting off his hair, tarring and feathering him, swore him never again to allow the use of his house for an office, never to disclose their names, and never again to have any sort of agency in aid of the excise: having done which, they bound him naked to a tree, and left him in that situation till morning, when he succeeded in extricating himself. Not content with this, the malcontents, some days after, made him another visit, pulled down part of his house, and put him in a situation to be obliged to become an exile from his own home, and to find an asylum elsewhere.

“ During this time several of the distillers, who had made entries and benefited by them, refused the payment of the duties, actuated, no doubt, by various motives.

“ Indications of a plan to proceed against the Inspector of the revenue, in the manner which has been before mentioned, continued. In a letter from him of the 10th of July, he observed, that the

threatened visit had not yet been made, though he had still reason to expect it.

“ In the session of Congress which began in December, 1793, a bill for making the amendments in the laws, which had been for some time desired, was brought in, and on the 5th of June last became a law.

“ It is not to be doubted that the different stages of this business were regularly notified to the malcontents, and that a conviction of the tendency of the amendments contemplated to effectuate the execution of the law, had matured the resolution to bring matters to a violent crisis.

“ The increasing energy of the opposition rendered it indispensable to meet the evil with proportionable decision. The idea of giving time for the law to extend itself, in scenes where the dissatisfaction with it was the effect, not of improper spirit, but of causes which were of a nature to yield to reason, reflection, and experience (which had constantly weighed in the estimate of the measures proper to be pursued), had had its effect in an extensive degree. The experiment, too, had been long enough tried to ascertain, that, where resistance continued, the root of the evil lay deep, and required measures of greater efficacy than had been pursued. The laws had undergone repeated revisions of the Legislative Representatives of the Union, and had virtually received their repeated sanction, without even an attempt, as far as is now recollected, or can be traced, to effect their repeal, affording an evidence of the general sense of the community in their favour. Complaints began to be loud, from complying quarters, against the impropriety and injustice of suffering the laws to remain unexecuted in others.

“ Under the united influence of these considerations, there was no choice but to try the efficiency
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of the laws in prosecuting, with vigour, delinquents and offenders.

“ Process issued against a number of non-complying distillers in the counties of Fayette and Alleghany; and indictments having been found at a circuit court, holden at Philadelphia in July last, against Robert Smille and John M’Culloch, two of the rioters in the attack which, in November preceding, had been made upon the house of a Collector of the revenue in Fayette county, processes issued against them also to bring them to trial, and, if guilty, to punishment.

“ The Marshal of the district went in person to serve these processes: he executed his trust without interruption, though under many discouraging circumstances, in Fayette county; but while he was in the execution of it in Alleghany county, being then accompanied by the Inspector of the revenue, (to wit) on the 15th of July last, he was beset on the road by a party of from thirty to forty armed men, who, after much previous irregularity of conduct, finally fired upon him, but, as it happened, without injury either to him or to the Inspector.

“ This attempt on the Marshal was but the prelude of greater excesses.

“ About break of day, the 16th of July, in conformity with a plan which seems to have been for some time entertained, and which probably was only accelerated by the coming of the Marshal into the survey, an attack by about one hundred persons, armed with guns and other weapons, was made upon the house of the Inspector in the vicinity of Pittsburg. The Inspector, though alone, vigorously defended himself against the assailants, and obliged them to retreat without accomplishing their purpose.

“ Apprehending that the business would not terminate here, he made application by letter to the

Judges, Generals of militia, and Sheriff of the county, for protection. A reply to his application, from John Wilkins, jun. and John Gibson, magistrates and militia officers, informed him, that the laws could not be executed so as to afford him the protection to which he was entitled, owing to the too general combination of the people in that part of Pennsylvania to oppose the revenue law; adding, that they would take every step in their power to bring the rioters to justice, and would be glad to receive information of the individuals concerned in the attack upon his house, that prosecutions might be commenced against them; and expressing their sorrow, that, should the POSSE COMITATUS of the county be ordered out in support of the civil authority, very few could be gotten that were not of the party of the rioters.

“ The day following the insurgents reassembled, with a considerable augmentation of numbers, amounting, as has been computed, to at least five hundred, and on the 17th of July renewed their attack upon the house of the Inspector, who, in the interval, had taken the precaution of calling to his aid a small detachment from the garrison of Fort Pitt, which, at the time of the attack, consisted of eleven men, who had been joined by Major Abraham Kirkpatrick, a friend and connexion of the Inspector.

“ There being scarcely a prospect of effectual defence against so large a body as then appeared, and as the Inspector had every thing to apprehend for his person, if taken, it was judged advisable that he should withdraw from the house to a place of concealment, Major Kirkpatrick generously agreeing to remain with the eleven men, in the intention, if practicable, to make a capitulation in favour of the property, if not to defend it as long as possible.

“ A parley took place under cover of a flag which
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was sent by the insurgents to the house, to demand that the Inspector should come forth, renounce his office, and stipulate never again to accept an office under the same laws. To this it was replied, that the Inspector had left the house upon their first approach, and that the place to which he had retired was unknown. They then declared that they must have whatever related to his office. They were answered, that they might send persons, not exceeding six, to search the house, and take away whatever papers they could find appertaining to the office: but not satisfied with this, they insisted, unconditionally, that the armed men, who were in the house for its defence, should march out and ground their arms; which Major Kirkpatrick peremptorily refused, considering it and representing it to them as a proof of a design to destroy the property. This refusal put an end to the parley.

“ A brisk firing then ensued between the insurgents and those of the house, which, it is said, lasted for near an hour, till the assailants having set fire to the neighbouring and adjacent buildings, eight in number, the intenseness of the heat, and the danger of an immediate communication of the fire to the house, obliged Major Kirkpatrick and his small party to come out and surrender themselves. In the course of the firing one of the insurgents was killed and several wounded; and three of the persons in the house were also wounded. The person killed is understood to have been the leader of the party, of the name of James M'Tarlane, then a major in the militia, formerly a lieutenant in the Pennsylvania line. The dwelling-house, after the surrender, shared the fate of the other buildings; the whole of which were consumed to the ground. The loss of property to the Inspector, upon this occasion, is estimated, and, as it is believed, with great moderation, not less than three thousand pounds.

“ The Marshal, Colonel Priestly Neville, and several others, were taken by the insurgents going to the Inspector's house. All, except the Marshal and Colonel Neville, soon made their escape; but these were carried on some distance from the place where the affray had happened, and detained till one or two o'clock the next morning. In the course of their detention, the Marshal, in particular, suffered very severe and humiliating treatment, and was frequently in imminent danger of his life. Several of the party repeatedly presented their pieces at him, with every appearance of a design to assassinate, from which they were, with difficulty, restrained by the efforts of a few more humane and more prudent.

“ Nor could he obtain safety or liberty, but upon the condition of a promise guaranteed by Colonel Neville, that he would serve no other process on the west side of the Alleghany mountain. The alternative being immediate death, extorted from the Marshal a compliance with this condition, notwithstanding the just sense of official dignity, and the firmness of character which were witnessed by his conduct throughout the trying scenes he had experienced.

“ The insurgents, on the 18th, sent a deputation of two of their number (one a justice of the peace) to Pittsburg, to require of the Marshal a surrender of the processes in his possession, intimating that his compliance would satisfy the people and *add to his safety*; and also to demand of General Neville, in peremptory terms, the resignation of his office, threatening, in case of refusal, to attack the place and take him by force: demands which both these officers did not hesitate to reject, as alike incompatible with their honour and their duty.

“ As it was well ascertained that no protection was to be expected from the magistrates or inhabitants of Pittsburg, it became necessary to the
safety,

safety, both of the Inspector and the Marshal, to quit that place; and, as it was known that all the usual routes to Philadelphia were beset by the insurgents, they concluded to descend the Ohio, and proceed, by a circuitous route, to the seat of Government, which they began to put in execution on the night of the 19th of July.

“ Information has also been received of a meeting of a considerable number of persons at a place called Mingo Creek Meeting-house, in the county of Washington, to consult about the further measures which it might be advisable to pursue; that at this meeting a motion was made to approve and agree to support the proceedings which had taken place, until the excise law was repealed, and an act of oblivion passed. But that, instead of this, it had been agreed that the four western counties of Pennsylvania, and the neighbouring counties of Virginia, should be invited to meet in a convention of delegates, on the 14th of the present month, at Parkinson's, on Mingo Creek, in the county of Washington, to take into consideration the situation of the western country, and concert such measures as should appear suited to the occasion.

“ It appears, moreover, that on the 25th of July last, the mail of the United States, on the road from Pittsburg to Philadelphia, was stopped by two armed men, who cut it open, and took out all the letters, except those contained in one packet: these armed men, from all the circumstances which occurred, were manifestly acting on the part of the insurgents.

“ The declared object of the foregoing proceedings is to obstruct the execution, and compel a repeal of the laws laying duties on spirits distilled within the United States, and upon stills. There is just cause to believe that this is connected with an indisposition too general in that quarter to share in the common burdens of the community; and with
a wish,

a wish, among some persons of influence, to embarrass the Government. It is affirmed, by well-informed persons, to be a fact of notoriety, that the revenue laws of the State itself have always been either resisted, or very defectively complied with in the same quarter.

“ With the most perfect respect, I have the honour to be, Sir,

“ Your most obedient humble servant,

“ ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

“ *The President of the United States.*”

Upon receiving this Report, the President issued the following Proclamation :

By the President of the United States of America.

A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas combinations to defeat the execution of the laws laying duties upon spirits distilled within the United States, and upon stills, have, from the time of the commencement of those laws, existed in some of the western parts of Pennsylvania : *And whereas* the said combinations, proceeding in a manner subversive equally of the just authority of Government, and of the rights of individuals, have hitherto effected their dangerous and criminal purpose, by the influence of certain irregular meetings, whose proceedings have tended to encourage and uphold the spirit of opposition, by misrepresentations of the laws, calculated to render them odious, by endeavours to deter those who might be so disposed, from accepting offices under them, through fear of public resentment and of injury to person and property, and to compel those who had accepted such offices by actual violence to surrender or forbear the execution of them, by circulating vindictive menaces against all those who should otherwise directly or indirectly aid in the execution of the said laws, or who, yield-

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ing to the dictates of conscience, and to a sense of obligation, should themselves comply therewith, by actually injuring and destroying the property of persons who were understood to have so complied; by inflicting cruel and humiliating punishments upon private citizens for no other cause than that of appearing to be the friends of the laws; by intercepting the public officers on the highways, abusing, assaulting, and otherwise ill-treating them; by going to their houses in the night, gaining admittance by force, taking away their papers, and committing other outrages; employing for these unwarrantable purposes the agency of armed banditti, disguised in such manner as for the most part to escape discovery: *And whereas* the endeavours of the Legislature to obviate objections to the said laws, by lowering the duties, and by other alterations conducive to the convenience of those whom they immediately affect (though they have given satisfaction in other quarters), and the endeavours of the executive officers to conciliate a compliance with the laws, by explanations, by forbearance, and even by particular accommodations founded on the suggestion of local considerations, have been disappointed of their effect by the machinations of persons whose industry to excite resistance has increased with every appearance of a disposition among the people to relax in their opposition, and to acquiesce in the laws, insomuch that many persons in the said western parts of Pennsylvania have, at length, been hardy enough to perpetrate acts which, I am advised, amount to treason, being overt acts of levying war against the United States; the said persons having, on the 16th and 17th of July last past, proceeded in arms (on the second day amounting to several hundreds) to the house of John Neville, Inspector of the revenue for the fourth survey of the district of Pennsylvania, having repeatedly attacked the said house with the persons therein,

therein, wounding some of them ; having seized David Lenox, Marshal of the district of Pennsylvania, who previous thereto had been fired upon while in the execution of his duty, by a party of armed men, detaining him for some time prisoner, till for the preservation of his life, and the obtaining of his liberty, he found it necessary to enter into stipulations to forbear the execution of certain official duties touching processes issuing out of a Court of the United States, and having finally obliged the said Inspector of the revenue and the said Marshal, from considerations of personal safety to fly from that part of the country, in order, by a circuitous route, to proceed to the seat of Government ; avowing as the motives of these outrageous proceedings, an intention to prevent by force of arms the execution of the said laws, to oblige the said Inspector of the revenue to renounce his said office, to withstand by open violence the lawful authority of the Government of the United States, and to compel thereby an alteration in the measures of the Legislature and a repeal of the laws aforesaid :

And whereas by a law of the United States, entitled, “ An Act to provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections, and repel Invasions,” it is enacted, “ that whenever the laws of the United States shall be opposed, or the execution thereof obstructed in any State by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings or by the powers vested in the Marshals by that act, the same being notified by an associate Justice or the district Judge, it shall be lawful for the President of the United States to call forth the militia of such State, to suppress such combinations, and to cause the laws to be duly executed : and if the militia of a State where such combinations may happen shall refuse or be insufficient to suppress the same, it shall be lawful
for

for the President, if the Legislature of the United States shall not be in session, to call forth and employ such numbers of the militia of any other State or States most convenient thereto as may be necessary; and the use of the militia so to be called forth may be continued, if necessary, until the expiration of thirty days after the commencement of the ensuing session: *Provided always*, that whenever it may be necessary, in the judgment of the President, to use the military force hereby directed to be called forth, the President shall forthwith, and previous thereto, by proclamation, command such insurgents to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes within a limited time:” And whereas James Wilson, an associate Justice, on the 4th instant, by writing under his hand, did, from evidence which had been laid before him, notify to me that “in the counties
“ of Washington and Alleghany in Pennsylvania,
“ laws of the United States are opposed, and the
“ execution thereof obstructed by combinations
“ too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary
“ course of judicial proceedings, or by the powers
“ vested in the Marshal of that district:”

And whereas it is in my judgment necessary, under the circumstances of the case, to take measures for calling forth the militia in order to suppress the combinations aforesaid, and to cause the laws to be duly executed, and I have accordingly determined so to do, feeling the deepest regret for the occasion, but withal the most solemn conviction, that the essential interests of the Union demand it, that the very existence of Government and the fundamental principles of social order are materially involved in the issue, and that the patriotism and firmness of all good citizens are seriously called upon, as occasion may require, to aid in the effectual suppression of so fatal a spirit:

Wherefore, and in pursuance of the proviso above recited, I George Washington, President of the United States, do hereby command all persons being insurgents as aforesaid, and all others whom it may concern, on or before the 1st day of September next, to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes. And I do moreover forewarn all persons whomsoever against aiding, abetting, or comforting the perpetrators of the aforesaid treasonable acts; and do require all officers and other citizens, according to their respective duties and the law of the land to exert their utmost endeavours to prevent and suppress such dangerous proceedings.

In testimony whereof I have caused the seal of the United States of America to be affixed to these presents, and signed the same day with (L. S.) my hand. Done at Philadelphia, the 7th day of August, 1794, and of the independence of the United States of America, the nineteenth.

G. WASHINGTON.

By the President,

EDM. RANDOLPH.

SECOND PROCLAMATION.

By the President of the United States of America.

A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas, from a hope that the combinations against the constitution and laws of the United States, in certain of the western counties of Pennsylvania, would yield to time and reflection, I thought it sufficient, in the first instance, rather to *take measures* for calling forth the militia, than immediately to embody them; but the moment is now come, when the overtures of forgiveness, with no other condition than a submission to law, have been only partially accepted; when every form of conciliation not inconsistent

consistent with the being of Government, has been adopted without effect ; when the well-disposed in those countries are unable by their influence and example to reclaim the wicked from their fury, and are compelled to associate in their own defence ; when the proffered lenity has been perversely misinterpreted into an apprehension that the citizens will march with reluctance ; when the opportunity of examining the consequences of a treasonable opposition has been employed in propagating principles of anarchy, endeavouring through emissaries to alienate the friends of order from its support, and inviting its enemies to perpetrate similar acts of insurrection ; when it is manifest that violence would continue to be exercised upon every attempt to enforce the laws ; when, therefore, Government is set at defiance, the contest being whether a small portion of the United States shall dictate to the whole Union, and, at the expense of those who desire peace, indulge a desperate ambition :

Now, therefore, I George Washington, President of the United States, in obedience to that high and irresistible duty, consigned to me by the constitution, “ to take care that the laws be faithfully executed ;” deploring that the American name should be sullied by the outrages of citizens on their own Government ; commiserating such as remain obstinate from delusion ; but resolved, in perfect reliance on that gracious Providence which so signally displays its goodness towards this country, to reduce the refractory to a due subordination to the law ; DO HEREBY declare and make known, that with a satisfaction, which can be equalled only by the merits of the militia summoned into service from the States of New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, I have received intelligence of their patriotic alacrity in obeying the call of the present, though painful, yet commanding necessity ; and that a force which, according

according to every reasonable expectation, is adequate to the exigency, is already in motion to the scene of disaffection ; that those who have confided or shall confide in the protection of Government, shall meet full succour under the standard, and from the arms of the United States ; that those who, having offended against the laws, have since entitled themselves to indemnity, will be treated with the most liberal good faith, if they shall not have forfeited their claim by any subsequent conduct, and that instructions are given accordingly.

And I do moreover exhort all individuals, officers, and bodies of men, to contemplate with abhorrence the measures leading directly or indirectly to those crimes, which produce this resort to military coercion ; to check in their respective spheres the efforts of misguided or designing men to substitute their misrepresentations in the place of truth, and their discontents in the place of stable government ; and to call to mind, that, as the people of the United States have been permitted under the divine favour in perfect freedom, after solemn deliberation, and in an enlightened age, to elect their own Government ; so will their gratitude for this inestimable blessing be best distinguished by firm exertions to maintain the constitution and the laws.

And lastly, I again warn all persons whomsoever and wheresoever, not to abet, aid, or comfort the insurgents aforesaid, as they will answer the contrary at their peril ; and I do also require all officers and other citizens, according to their several duties, as far as may be in their power, to bring under the cognizance of the law, all offenders in the premises.

In testimony whereof I have caused the seal of the United States of America to be affixed to these presents, and signed the same with my (L. S.) hand. Done at the city of Philadelphia,
the

the 25th day of September, 1794, and of the independence of the United States of America the 19th.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

By the President,

EDM. RANDOLPH.

At the same time that these proclamations were issued, the President made a requisition for troops, on the governors of Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New-Jersey, each of which States was required to furnish a certain quota. To attempt, here, *a mere history of the campaign*, does not agree with my plan, which contemplates rather a developement of the *secret* than the known circumstances of this insurrection. My objects, through the whole of this work, are, to record the crimes of democracy, and to undeceive the deluded people of England.

The *New Annual Register* (than which I do not know a work more full of falsehood and malice), in speaking of the insurrection in the western counties of Pennsylvania; exhausts all its resources of misrepresentation. It represents the assembling of the army as a matter attended with no difficulty, and states, that, at the appointed time, Governor Mifflin arrived at Carlisle, "at the head of *six thousand* VOLUNTEERS*." From this representation, who

* To obviate the possibility of a charge of misquotation, or misrepresentation, I here quote the whole article from the *New Annual Register* for 1794, requesting the reader to peruse it with attention, as it has already been referred to, and will be referred to again, in the course of this work.

"The revolutionary spirit which has been so active in Europe, extended in the course of the present year beyond the Atlantic: and, in the peaceful plantations of North America, broke out into actual insurrection. However unexpected such a circumstance might be to those who observed only the general happiness and prosperity

would not imagine, that these six thousand men, burning with a desire to distinguish themselves in support

prosperity of those States under their present wise and provident Administration, to those who consider the internal circumstances of America, such events will scarcely be a matter of surprise. In so extended a country, the same union of sentiment, and indeed of interest, can scarcely exist, as in smaller states; and where free discussion is indulged in the amplest extent, by the civil constitution of the country, it may reasonably be expected, that local questions will sometimes arise, and partial views be occasionally indulged, to the manifest prejudice of the general interest. The insurrection, to which we at present allude, took place in the four western counties of Pennsylvania, a tract of territory chiefly settled since the peace of 1783, and inhabited by emigrants from different countries, and especially from Ireland and the West of Scotland.

“ Among the different modes which have been adopted for defraying the expenses of the state, perhaps there is none more commodious, under certain restrictions, than that of an excise, and yet none has ever been less acceptable to the people in general.— Most of our readers will recollect the opposition experienced by Sir Robert Walpole on this account; and indeed, till lately, when the influence of the Crown has been so firmly established as to bid defiance to all opposition from the people, an excise bill has seldom passed without exciting disturbances of an alarming nature. Of one principle, which has been lately introduced into these bills, we must, as Englishmen, ever testify our abhorrence; and this is the summary mode of administering justice on excise questions, and the direct violation, or rather annihilation, of the *trial by jury*, which our present financier has been so studious to introduce on these occasions: yet, independent of this circumstance, the taxes themselves have been seldom objectionable. By fixing the duty not on the raw material, but on the manufactured commodity, the capital of the trader is less deeply involved, and the price is commonly rendered less burdensome to the consumer. In other cases the excise laws might operate as excellent sumptuary regulations; and in the case of distilled liquors, so injurious to the health of the common people, the excise system appears not merely proper and salutary, but even necessary. Yet such was the idle and absurd pretext for the Pennsylvanian insurrection. Among the different objects of taxation which presented themselves to Congress during the session of 1790, none appeared more proper than the distilleries throughout the United States. But how is a revenue to be derived from this source? Only by an excise. An excise there-
fore

support of the happy government under which they lived, had, by a *voluntary* offer of their services, prevented

fore was adopted; the duty was light, and the object unexceptionable; and yet this reasonable measure, among these ignorant and turbulent people, was made a pretext for riot and rebellion.

“ It was insinuated by some of the anti-Anglican party in America, that the discontents were secretly fomented by the agents of the British Cabinet, and that the insurrection in Pennsylvania, the encroachments of Governor Simcoe on the Miami, the accommodation between Algiers and Portugal, to the manifest injury of America, the talk of Lord Dorchester to the Indians, and the unwarrantable capture and detention of American vessels, were all parts of one great system, for the extinction of liberty in America, and for the revenging of the old quarrel, had the efforts of the allies succeeded against France. That the variable conduct of the British ministry did indeed afford too much colour for these assertions, we must in candour allow; but the same candour forbids too hasty an assent to the conclusion. The concurrence of these circumstances appears rather the effect of accident than of design; besides that there has been no proof alleged of the supposed agency; and it is our maxim, where no proofs of collusion can be collected by the utmost diligence of the Executive Government, to withhold our belief of its existence. No measure of importance was ever yet intrusted to a number of men, without being discovered sooner or later. The probability therefore is, that the inhabitants of these newly-settled countries, still cherishing their ancient prejudices against the excise system, and expecting more from American liberty than was consistent with rational government, withstood the tax upon some mistaken principle of patriotism, and apprehended that resistance in one quarter would excite the same effect in another, and reduce the Legislature to the necessity of a repeal.

“ The opposition to the tax commenced in these counties early in the summer, and petitions for its repeal were presented to Congress. In the month of August, a general meeting was held at Pittsburg; a strong remonstrance was drawn up to be presented to Congress; committees of correspondence for the counties of Washington, Fayette, and Alleghany, were appointed; and a resolution was entered into against having any intercourse or dealings with any man who should accept of any office for the collection of the duty. In the mean time the Marshal was ordered by Government to proceed by legal process against all rioters, and delinquent distillers, who should be found to resist or evade the tax. But

prevented the necessity of calling out the militia?—
The truth was directly the contrary of this.—The
militia

no sooner was he understood to be engaged in this duty, than the vengeance of armed men was aimed at his person, and the person and property of the Inspector of the revenue. They fired on the Marshal, arrested him, and detained him some time as a prisoner. The house and papers of the Inspector of the revenue were burned, and both these officers were obliged to fly to Philadelphia.

“ The American Government, on this emergency, conducted themselves with that wisdom which has always characterized their councils. In most cases of insurrection, a single defeat is fatal to an established government; and force should never be employed till it is certain to be effectual. The first step therefore was to dispatch commissioners to confer with the leaders of the opposition in the disaffected counties; but the conference was unfortunately without effect. A committee of sixty persons was chosen to confer with the commissioners; but a small number only voted in favour of the conciliatory propositions. The others threatened, that, if the tax was not repealed, the people of the western counties would place themselves under the protection of Great Britain: and this threat unfortunately gave countenance to the suspicion that they were instigated by that court. The conduct of the populace was still more outrageous.—They surrounded the house where the commissioners resided, broke the windows, and treated with the grossest insult the messengers of peace, who were compelled to depart without effecting any thing; and in a short time after, not less than five thousand insurgents appeared in arms at Pittsburg to oppose the Government.

“ Nothing therefore remained but to repeal the tax, or reduce the refractory counties by force. As the former was not judged prudent, or indeed safe, and as a trifling force would have been ineffectual, if not mischievous to the cause, a general levy was made from the regular forces; and the militia of all the adjacent States was embodied, and the different detachments, amounting in all to fifteen thousand men, were ordered to rendezvous at Carlisle, the principal town of Cumberland county. Thither the Governor, (formerly General) Mifflin, marched in the middle of September, at the head of six thousand volunteers; and in the mean time, a proclamation was issued by General Washington, exhorting to peace and subordination. In the beginning of October, the President in person joined the army at Carlisle, of which Governor Lee, of Virginia, was appointed commander in chief, and Governor Mifflin, second in command. From Carlisle the army proceeded

militia of Pennsylvania were appealed to *in vain*.—The Legislature of the State was called together to devise means to *force* the militia out, or to supply the place of them with other troops. A law passed, providing *extra pay* for such men as would serve in the campaign; which, together with various tales, tricks, promises, and threats, succeeded in bringing some men to the Governor's standard. Three hundred young men of Philadelphia, and about two hundred in the different counties, were really volunteers; but all the rest were mercenaries, and *not one man* of the militia, as established by law, and called upon in the name of that law, willingly marched against the insurgents.

I like to proceed upon sure ground. There is nothing like facts and documents to oppose to false and malicious statements; therefore I here insert the Report of the Secretary (Dallas) of the State of Pennsylvania, on this subject. This Report was made to the Legislature of the State, at the next session after the insurrection was quelled, in justification of the

ceeded to Fort Bedford. In their route they experienced no opposition, and several of the leading insurgents were apprehended.—On the approach of the main army, amounting to 7000 men, who expected hourly to be joined by a reinforcement of 6000 from Cumberland, the insurgents suddenly disbanded, and their leaders disappeared. On the 25th of October, a respectable meeting of the principal planters and inhabitants of the western counties was held at Pittsburg, where they entered into a solemn resolution to submit to the laws of the republic, and to promote order and good government by every means in their power. Though every appearance now manifested the return of peace and good order, General Washington judged it prudent to station a small force for a certain period in the disaffected counties. These measures had the desired effect; the insurgents who were taken, we have understood, were all pardoned; and thus, by a happy mixture of firmness with moderation, an insurrection, which, under a rash and intemperate administration, might have had the most fatal effects, was quelled without bloodshed, and almost without violence or loss."

conduct of the Governor and his Secretary, who were suspected of having tampered with the militia to prevent them from turning out, or at least of having designedly neglected the proper means for obtaining the quota, which had been called for by the President. This Report is a valuable document; when it is compared with some others that will succeed it, it will leave little doubt on the mind of every candid reader that the Western Insurrection was the work of *France and her adherents*.

“ In compliance with the request of the Committee ‘ appointed to inquire into the causes of the militia not turning out promptly on the late requisition of the President of the United States, to suppress an insurrection in the Western Counties of this State,’ the Secretary of the Commonwealth has the honour to furnish copies of all official papers and documents relative to the expedition: and, in explanation thereof, he respectfully

“ **REPORTS:** That, from time to time, as the intelligence of the rise and progress of the riots in the county of Alleghany was received, the subject was contemplated by the Governor in all the aspects which its nature and importance could present: 1st—He viewed it as immediately requiring the animadversions of the judicial power: 2d—As affecting the rights and jurisdictions of the Federal Governments: 3d—As claiming a prudent interposition of the executive authority, for averting the evils of a civil war: 4th—As involving the interesting question, whether our existing militia system was competent to enforce obedience to the laws: And 5th—As eventually creating a necessity for the personal exertions of the executive magistrate, lest the Commonwealth should suffer an irreparable injury.

“ I. That, accordingly, to stimulate the public officers to an exemplary discharge of their duty, the Governor directed a circular letter, dated the 25th day
of

of July, 1794 (the day succeeding the receipt of the intelligence of the riots), to be addressed to the President and Judges of the Courts of Common Pleas ; to every Justice of the Peace ; to all the Sheriffs ; and to each Brigade Inspector of the four Western Counties. This letter, having stated the daring and cruel outrage that had been committed in the county of Alleghany, by a lawless body of armed men, ' requests, in the most earnest manner, that those to whom it was addressed, would exert all their influence and authority to suppress, within their jurisdiction, so pernicious and unwarrantable a spirit : that they would ascertain, with all possible dispatch, the circumstances of the offence ; and that they would pursue, with the utmost vigilance, the lawful steps for bringing the offenders to justice.' It declared, that every honest citizen must feel himself personally mortified at the conduct of the rioters, which (particularly if it passed with impunity) was calculated to fix an indelible stigma on the honour and reputation of the State ; and it assured all the public officers of the Governor's warmest support and approbation in the prosecution of every lawful measure, which their better knowledge of the facts, and of other local circumstances, might suggest on the occasion.

" Presuming, from the state of intelligence at that time, that a draft from the militia might readily be made, and would be sufficient to overawe the riotous disposition of the malcontents, in pursuance of the Governor's instructions, a letter of the same date was also written to Major-general Gibson, declaring a disposition ' to employ all the energy of the Government, to bring the offenders to an early and exemplary justice ;' and intimating that ' if the civil authority can be supported by the assistance of the militia, the exercise of General Gibson's discretion for that purpose, upon the request of the magistrates,

must be highly agreeable to the Governor.' The Attorney-general was likewise desired 'to ascertain, with legal formality, the circumstances of the offence, and the names of the offenders, as the Governor would be anxious to enforce every instrument that could be employed effectually, to subdue the lawless spirit of the rioters, and to bring them to punishment.'

" II. That the riots, having been committed in the course of a lawless opposition to the execution of certain acts of Congress, were not only deemed offences against the State, but also against the Union. Hence a conference between the President and the Governor was thought advisable, in order to avoid a collision of jurisdiction, and to settle the general principles and form of proceeding, as far as the State was concerned.

" That conference gave rise to the correspondence which was laid before the Legislature at the opening of the last session; and from which it appears, that the Governor's conduct was influenced by the following considerations.

" 1st. In regard to his character as an executive magistrate, no positive law existed under the authority of the State, defining the exigency that would justify an appeal from the judicial to the military power, or regulating and prescribing the evidence that should prove the occurrence of that exigency. Whatever, therefore, might eventually be the obligation resulting from the constitutional injunction to 'take care that the laws be faithfully executed,' it was thought, that not only the non-execution of the laws, and the incompetency of the Courts of Justice to punish offenders, should first be authoritatively declared by the judicial magistrates, but that the act of interposing the aid of the military power should likewise be founded upon their requisition. At the time of the conference alluded to, the judicial
2 magistrates

magistrates of Pennsylvania had not made any such authoritative declaration and requisition: the Governor, therefore, did not then think it justifiable, upon principle, to sanction the interposition of the militia, in any other manner than that suggested in the above mentioned letter to General Gibson; and a variety of arguments, in point of policy and convenience, occurred to fortify his opinion.

“ But the determination of the General Government to pursue the most vigorous measures for suppressing the insurrection, and punishing the insurgents, seemed to preclude the State Government from any choice upon the subject. The Constitution of the United States imposes upon the President (as the Constitution of the State imposes upon the Governor) the same general trust, to ‘ take care that the laws be faithfully executed ;’—and an act of Congress has defined the exigency, that would justify an appeal from the judicial to the military power of the Union, as well as the evidence to prove the occurrence of that exigency. When, therefore, a Judicial Magistrate of the General Government had declared the incompetency of the officers of justice to execute the laws, and the President had declared his determination to enforce obedience by the aid of the military power, it was thought that the Governor, paying a reasonable attention to a systematic and efficient course of proceeding, ought to forbear issuing any order for an immediate, a separate, and an unconnected call of the militia. But, 2d.—In regard to his character as an officer responsible, in certain cases, to the Federal Government, it was observed, that all the purposes of dispatch and energy would as readily be attained by obeying the call of the President, as by acting upon the Governor’s original authority. Hence, a full and unequivocal assurance was given, that whatever requisition the President might make, whatever duty he might impose, in pursuance

fluence of his constitutional and legal powers, would, on the part of the Governor, be promptly undertaken, and faithfully discharged.

“ III. That, with a view to the reputation and stability of the republican system, as well as from a consideration of the actual state of our foreign and domestic affairs, it was thought expedient, not only to try the full effect of judicial animadversion, but likewise to make a solemn and liberal appeal to the good sense and virtue of the people, before the hazard of a civil war should be encountered. On the part of the State, therefore (and a similar measure was adopted on the part of the General Government), Commissioners were appointed, for the purpose of addressing the inhabitants of the Western Counties in general, and especially those who had been engaged in the riots, upon the lawless nature and dangerous tendency of such proceedings. The Commissioners were instructed, particularly, ‘ to exert themselves in developing the folly of a riotous opposition to those governments and laws which were made by the spontaneous authority of the people, and which, by the same legitimate authority, may, in a peaceable and orderly course, be amended or repealed ;—in explaining how incompatible it is with the principles of a republican government, how dangerous it is in point of precedent, that a minority should attempt to control the majority, or a part undertake to prescribe to the whole ; in demonstrating the painful but indispensable obligation imposed upon the officers of the Government, to employ the public force for the purpose of subduing and punishing the offenders ; and in exhorting the deluded rioters to return to that duty, a longer deviation from which must be destructive of their happiness, as well as injurious to the reputation and prosperity of their country.’ The Commissioners were earnestly requested to promote the views of the General Government, on
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the same occasion, and, should their exertions produce a satisfactory assurance of future submission to the laws, they were authorized, as far as the State of Pennsylvania was concerned, 'to promise an act of pardon and oblivion for the past.' To obtain, likewise, the aid of the legislative wisdom and authority on this emergency, as well for devising the means of conciliation, as for strengthening, in the last resort, the instruments of coercion, the Governor summoned an extraordinary meeting of the General Assembly.

"IV. That, as the accounts from the scene of insurrection soon evinced the incompetency of the judicial power to execute its functions, and it was necessary to prepare, at all events, to maintain the authority of Government, the President, while the Commissioners were employed in their pacific mission, issued his requisition, dated the 7th (but received on the 8th) of August, 1794, 'for organizing and holding in readiness to march at a moment's warning, a corps of the militia of Pennsylvania, amounting to 5200 commissioned officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates.' Accordingly, on the 8th of August, as soon as the plan for organizing the corps could be formed, the Governor, in conformity to the mode prescribed by law, transmitted his general orders to the Adjutant-general, 'for calling into actual service, and holding in readiness to march at a moment's warning, the part of the militia specified in the roll, which designated the quota of the several counties, by the classes most convenient to the Citizens, and best adapted to a prompt compliance with the President's requisition, the part so called not exceeding four classes of the militia of the respective brigades,' agreeably to the restrictions contained in the 17th Section of the Militia Act. These general orders were immediately transmitted by express to the respective Brigade Inspectors. The period limited by the President's Proclamation, for the
dispersion

dispersion of the insurgents, expiring on the 1st of September, the Governor repeatedly expressed the greatest solicitude that the corps, thus directed to be drafted and organized, should be in readiness to march on that day; and, in pursuance of his instructions, the Adjutant-general addressed another circular letter to the Brigade Inspectors, dated the 27th of August, in which they were entreated to make an immediate report of the progress that had been made in executing the preceding general orders. This opportunity was likewise taken to convey the Governor's ideas of the importance of the service to the Brigade Inspectors, and the militia in general; for it was represented to them that 'the eyes of their fellow-citizens throughout the Union, as well as in Pennsylvania, were fixed upon their conduct: that they must be sensible, therefore, that the slightest appearance of a want of zeal, or energy, to embark in support of the violated authority of the laws, would produce that reproach and disgrace, which it was the duty of the public officers, if possible, to prevent; and which it would be their misfortune, more than any other part of the community, to encounter; and that the occasion was interesting to every man who felt his obligations to society, and was desirous to preserve from the fury of anarchy, as well as from the encroachments of despotism, the independence of a freeman.' The 1st of September having arrived, the recent intelligence from the Commissioners placed the success of conciliatory measures in a very doubtful point of view. The want of information, respecting the progress which had been made in preparing the militia to march, became, therefore, more and more painful; and the receipts of the following returns seemed to extinguish every hope of seasonably complying with the President's requisition, by means of the ordinary process of the law.

“ 1st. The Inspector of the city of Philadelphia brigade, almost daily, called at the Secretary's office, with representations of the embarrassment which he experienced in complying with the requisition, and repeatedly expressed his doubt of success, in consequence of the defects in the existing militia law.

“ 2d. A return was received from the county of Philadelphia, dated the 29th day of August, 1794, stating inconveniences in complying with the requisition, on account of the effects of the exoneration laws formerly passed, and a general disapprobation of the militia law; and concluding with a declaration that there is ‘very little prospect of commanding the quota of the county.’

“ 3d. A return was received from the county of Bucks, dated the 5th of September, 1794, stating that ‘the pay of the militia is so universally objected to, that there is no hope of completing the quota of the county, upon the present terms of service.’ This county did not send its quota into the field.

“ 4th. A return was received from the county of Montgomery, dated the 3d September, 1794, stating, that, ‘agreeably to the orders of the 8th of August, 1794, for drafting 332 militia, officers included, the said corps is held in readiness to march at a moment's warning.’ The first part of this return, however, states such difficulties, as greatly diminish the probability of success in obtaining an actual organization of the corps; nor did this county send its quota into the field.

“ 5th. A return was received from the county of Chester, dated the 28th of August, 1794, stating that some officers had actually resigned, and others wish to resign, and concluding with this remark: ‘The west and north-west parts of this county seem to dislike the service they are now ordered upon; and in a great number of other quarters are people who, as they say, are principled against taking up arms, on
any

any occasion ; so that, I believe, unless the law is rigorously executed, it will be with great difficulty I shall make up our quota ; but be assured no exertions shall be wanting,' &c.

“ 6th. A return was received from the county of Delaware, dated the 6th September, 1794, stating a variety of difficulties, that left little hope of procuring, by regular drafts, the quota of this county.

“ 7th. A return was received from the county of Dauphin, dated the 29th August, 1794, stating that drafts had been made, and orders given to hold the quota of this county in readiness to march ; but concluding with this remark : ‘ According to the information I have received from several parts of the county, it appears that the militia are not willing to march to quell the insurrection in the western parts of Pennsylvania : they say that they are ready to march according to the former orders, against a foreign enemy, but not against the citizens of their own State ; so that, from circumstances, I have great reason to believe they will not turn out on the last call.’

“ 8th. A return was received from York county, dated the 6th of September, 1794, stating that ‘ too great a delay has taken place in drafting the quota of militia required by the orders of the 8th of August last, not so much from backwardness in the militia of this county to step forward on the present important occasion, as from the unprepared state of the Brigade Inspector to make a draft, through the former negligence or non-compliance of some regiments with the militia law, particularly with respect to classing the men.’ The Brigade Inspector adds, that he expects the required quota to be in readiness in the course of the ensuing week ; but concludes his report with a declaration, that ‘ the law as it stands, he is sorry to say, holds forth no encouragement, but rather appears calculated to have a contrary tendency.’

“ 9th. A return was received from Franklin county,

county, dated the 4th September, 1794, stating, that notwithstanding the urgent measures taken to draft and organize the quota of this county, 'seven Captains had made no returns, and the number returned who are willing to hold themselves in readiness to march, does not amount to more than 29 privates, and they without arms and equipments, &c.' The Brigade Inspector concludes his report with a declaration, 'that he has reason to believe that few of those who are returned, as holding themselves in readiness to march, will march when the orders are given.'

" 10th. A return was received from Northampton county, dated the 14th September, 1794, stating that all the attempts to have the quota of this county completed, had proved unsuccessful. The Brigade Inspector observes 'that until now he has not been able to procure particular returns; of which the enclosed general, though the incomplete one, is composed; and he is apprehensive, that even those men in the same, except the volunteers (of which denomination the men in the fifth regiment chiefly consist) will not march.' With a view to show the disposition of the people of Northampton county generally, the Brigade Inspector annexed to his report, the copy of a letter from the Lieutenant-colonel of the first regiment, and asserts 'that the same spirit prevails in almost every regiment; consequently, under the present militia system, he fears the quota of his brigade will not be completed.'

" The letter referred to contains the following language; 'I have received in writing of some of the Captains, and others by word, on the 5th of September, 1794, who inform me that the first class of all, and every company, were met on purpose to turn out to do militia duty; but as the matter is that they are called to fight against their own fellow-subjects and brethren at Fort Pitt, on account of the excise law,

law, which people in that part are very much against, and will not submit to be under the same, which makes much disturbance and disunion in our United States,—they are not willing to turn out. But whenever called upon to fight against the enemy or others whatever, they are willing to do duty as then the matter may require.’—This county did not send its quota into the field.

“ V. That the intelligence which was received from the Commissioners, continuing to render the success of Government, without the use of coercive measures, more and more doubtful, the season for military operations passing rapidly away, and an ultimate requisition for the march of the militia being hourly expected, the Governor did not hesitate to conclude, from the documents above stated, as well as from other general sources of information, that a strict adherence to the forms of the existing militia system would not enable him to furnish that prompt and efficient aid to enforce obedience to the laws, which he conceived all the principles of duty, policy, and honour, claimed from the Government of Pennsylvania. It would not, indeed, have been consistent with his ideas of the executive authority, with his official character, or perhaps with his personal security, to deviate from those forms, until their inefficacy was fairly ascertained ; but after the experiment was made, he thought himself justifiable in resorting to any means within the spirit of the law, lest the Commonwealth should suffer an irreparable injury. Considering, therefore, that the 19th section of the Militia Act declares, ‘ that it shall be lawful for any person called to do a tour of duty, to find a sufficient substitute,’ the Governor determined, on the spirit of that provision, to invite the Citizens to supply the deficiency in the regular drafts, by a voluntary enrollment as substitutes. Accordingly, he successively convened the officers of the militia in
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the city of Philadelphia, and the several counties, and publicly addressed them on the state of the insurrection, and the necessity of an immediate patriotic exertion.

“ The determination to pursue this measure was communicated to the General Assembly, in the Governor’s message of the 2d of September (F. 1.) ; and it received a legislative sanction by the act that was passed on the 19th of the same month (G. 1.). The necessity of undertaking it, appeared not only from the general state of the militia under the requisition to prepare for marching, but from the urgent terms of the call for the immediate march of the troops. On the 9th of September that call was communicated to the Governor (H. 1.). It stated, ‘ that the last intelligence from the western counties leaves the issue of measures for an amicable accommodation so very doubtful, and the season for military operations is wearing away so fast, that the President, with great reluctance, finds himself under the necessity of putting in motion, without further delay, all the militia which had been called for.’ It requested, ‘ that the Governor would immediately cause the quota of this State to assemble.’ And it concluded with declaring that ‘ the President, in making this final call, entertains a full confidence, that Pennsylvania will, upon an occasion which so immediately affects herself, as well as the general interests, display such zeal and energy as shall maintain unfulfilled her character for discernment, love of order, and true patriotism ; and that the part she shall act is of peculiar consequence to the welfare and reputation of the whole Union.’ On the 16th of September another letter was transmitted from the War Department, representing that ‘ every moment brings fresh proofs of a spirit excessively disseminated, fatal to the principles of good order ; that

VOL. I. T disa-

disagreeable symptoms had appeared in the two most western counties of Maryland, &c. ; that every thing was done to push forward the Jersey militia to Carlisle, &c. ; that it is of the highest moment that the spreadings of so mischievous a spirit should be checked by every practicable effort ; and that the President is convinced that the Governor will omit nothing that can contribute to this desirable end.' The next day brought a repetition of the solicitude of the General Government for the march of the troops. The letter states that ' it becomes every moment more and more urgent, that the junction between the Pennsylvania and Maryland militia at Carlisle, should be accelerated ; and to this end, that the corps should march successively as fast as they can be made ready ; that Governor Howell, of New-Jersey, was in motion with the van of the militia of that State ; that if the cavalry and infantry of Philadelphia could be hastened onward, it would be particularly desirable ; and that the artillery corps should be taken under their care, with all the pieces of artillery ready.

" On the 20th of September the result of the meetings of the people in the western counties as far as the 13th, to give the stipulated test of their submission to the Government, was announced to the Governor in a letter from the War Department ; according to which ' it was become the more indispensable and urgent to press forward the forces destined to act against the insurgents, with all possible activity and energy, for the advanced season left no time to spare : it was extremely important to afford speedy protection to the well-disposed, and to prevent the preparation and accumulation of greater means of resistance, and the extension of combinations to abet the insurrection.' It is proper here to recollect, that while these interesting and urgent communications were received from the General Government, the

the reports of the brigade inspectors (dated nearly at the same period) were calculated to excite the most painful apprehensions of disappointment and defeat in every attempt to embody our quota of the militia. Under such inauspicious circumstances, therefore, the Governor commenced his tour through the counties; but the scene quickly changed. For, according to the representation contained in his last address to the Legislature, ‘as soon as the situation of our country was truly described and understood; the daring and cruel career of the malcontents; the subversion of the judicial authority; the failure of every conciliatory effort, and the resulting necessity of an appeal to arms, produced, in perfect unison with the Governor’s anticipation, one common sentiment of resentment, one common determination to defend the peace and order of society, against the machinations of licentiousness and anarchy.’—Still, however, the critical season of the year, with respect to commercial and agricultural pursuits, and the limited period for assembling the troops, made it impracticable to complete the quota of the State: a circumstance, which adds to the proofs that demonstrate the necessity of the Governor’s personal exertions.”

A return, annexed to this Report, states the whole number of troops furnished by the State of Pennsylvania, to amount to *four thousand three hundred and ninety-two*, including artificers and officers of every description. Where, then, shall we look for the *six thousand* patriotic volunteers, who, as the poor foolish readers of the New Annual Register have believed, ranged themselves under the banners of Governor Mifflin? What becomes of the boasted *information, veracity, and impartiality* of the NEW ANNUAL REGISTER, and what becomes of the reputation of the *Annual Historian*, who, I am shocked to

hear, is a Clergyman of the church of England * ? This Gentleman (for *he* alone is responsible to the world for the falsehoods of his writings) has boldly challenged his enemies to show *one* instance in which he has been guilty of a misrepresentation. I am not his *enemy* in any other sense than as the opposer of his political principles, which are but too evident from the first page to the last of his work ; but I have just clearly proved one falsehood upon him ; and as he boasts of being in possession of “ *the best and most authentic information,*” he will certainly not complain if I regard that falsehood as *wilful*, his *solemn* assertion to the contrary notwithstanding.

There is another important circumstance too, which is connected with the subject of the foregoing Report, and which has been passed over in silence by the *New Annual Register*. I mean the part which the *partisans of France* acted in favouring the insurrection, and in preventing, for a considerable time, the employment of efficient means for its suppression. This circumstance has, indeed, never been sufficiently explained and exposed, even in America, and therefore I could have excused the omission of the Writer of the *New Annual Register*, notwithstanding his “ *best and most authentic information,*” and his

* “ No expense has been spared for procuring *the best and most authentic information* concerning the great events which at present agitate the political world. We cannot but flatter ourselves that no circumstance of moment is omitted, and can *solemnly assert*, that the most minute has not been *wilfully misrepresented.*” — *Preface to the New Annual Register for 1793.*

“ We have asserted, that, to our knowledge, no circumstance of moment has been omitted or misrepresented. We defy our enemies to instance *one* ; and as they have not attempted to prove their charge, because evidently they cannot prove it, but have confined themselves to bold and general assertions ; we leave it to the fair determination of the public, whether they do not stand convicted of wilful and deliberate falsehood.” — *Preface to the New Annual Register for 1794.*

solemn assertion that he has "*omitted no circumstance of moment*," if he had not added to this negative offence, the positive one of deliberate misrepresentation : I could have excused him for drawing a veil over the treachery of the partisans of his favourite France, had he not had the audacity to transfer their guilt to the friends of England.

" It was insinuated by some of the anti-Anglican party in America, that the discontents *were secretly fomented by the agents of the British Cabinet*, and that the insurrection in Pennsylvania, the encroachments of Governor Simcoe on the Miami, the accommodation between Algiers and Portugal to the manifest injury of America, the talk of Lord Dorchester to the Indians, and the unwarrantable capture and detention of American vessels, were all parts of one great system for the extinction of liberty in America, and for the revenging of the old quarrel, had the efforts of the allies succeeded against France. That the variable conduct of the British Ministry did indeed afford *too much colour for these assertions, we must in candour allow* ; but the same candour forbids too hasty an assent to the conclusion. The concurrence of these circumstances appears rather the effect of accident than of design ; besides, that there has been *no proof* alleged of the supposed agency : and it is our maxim, where no proofs of collusion can be collected by the utmost diligence of the Executive Government, to *withhold our belief* of its existence."

Never was there a more detestable falsehood than that which this passage is intended to propagate. Governor Simcoe had made *no* encroachments on the Miami ; the accommodation between Portugal and Algiers was effected by Great Britain for the good of Portugal, and not for the injury of America ; the

talk of Lord Dorchester was a mere measure of defence against the evidently intended hostility that was gathering in the United States; and the capture of American vessels was absolutely necessary to put a stop to the fitting out of privateers in the American ports, to cruise under the flag of France, against the commerce of Great Britain. What, then, had these measures to do with the Western Insurrection? How could they "*afford too much colour*" for insinuating that insurrections was fomented by the agents of Great Britain?

The candour of the Historian does, indeed, forbid a *too hasty* assent to this conclusion. He acknowledges that there exists no "*proof*" of the facts, and is even candid enough to say, that, in similar cases, it is his maxim to *withhold* his *belief*. But has he not so artfully arranged the circumstances, as to induce nine readers out of ten to adopt for truth, what he knew to be false? The malignant coward dared not openly support the insinuation. The law would have pricked him for the infamous slander. He has, therefore, had recourse to the most vile of all the means that the devil ever supplied for the purposes of error and mischief.

But I must not stop here. It is absolutely necessary to *prove*, not only that the friends of Great Britain had no hand in the Western Insurrection, but that the partisans of France had a hand in it. As a most necessary document in support of this position, I shall here insert the famous intercepted dispatch of the French Ambassador FAUCHET, which, though never noticed, even in the slightest manner, by the Historian of the New Annual Register, is by far the most important political paper ever published in America. FAUCHET was in America during the Insurrection, of which the dispatch is a sort of history sent by him to the Directory. *How* this dispatch was *intercepted*, and what effect it produced in America, will be seen
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in the Analysis of Randolph's Vindication, in the New Year's Gift, and in the Account of the British Treaty, vol. ii. The dispatch is introduced here for the purpose of showing that the French Minister had no suspicion that the friends of Great Britain had any concern in the Insurrection, and that that Insurrection *was fomented and prolonged by the partisans of France*. I beg the reader to peruse it with attention. It is a most interesting document, and, with the subsequent comments, completely unravels the whole mystery of the delay in suppressing the Insurrection.

“ *Translation of Mr. Fauchet's Political Dispatch,*
No. 10*.

“ LEGATION OF PHILADELPHIA. }

FOREIGN RELATIONS. }

“ *Private Correspondence of the*
Minister on Politics. }

“ No. 10. }

“ *Philadelphia, the 10th Brumaire, 3d Year*
of the French Republic, one and indivisible.
(October 31st, 1794.)

“ *Joseph Fauchet, Minister Plenipotentiary of the French*
Republic, near the United States, to the Commissioner
of Foreign Relations.

“ CITIZEN,

“ 1. The measures which prudence prescribes to me to take with respect to my colleagues, have still presided in the digesting of the dispatches signed by them, which treat of the insurrection of the western countries, and of the repressive means adopted by the Government. I have allowed them to be confined to the giving of a faithful but naked recital of

* It was translated by Mr. PICKERING, by order of the President.

events : the reflections therein contained scarcely exceed the conclusions easily deducible from the character assumed by the public prints. I have reserved myself to give you, as far as I am able, a key to the facts detailed in our reports. When it comes in question to explain, either by conjectures or by certain data, the secret views of a foreign Government, it would be imprudent to run the risk of indiscretions, and to give one's self up to men, whose known partiality for that Government, and similitude of passions and interests with its chiefs, might lead to confidences, the issue of which is incalculable. Besides, the *precious confessions of Mr. Randolph* † alone throw a satisfactory light upon every thing that comes to pass. These I have not yet communicated to my colleagues. The motives already mentioned lead to this reserve, and still less permit me to open myself to them at the present moment. I shall then endeavour, Citizen, to give you a clue to all the measures, of which the common dispatches give you an account, and to discover the true causes of the explosion, which it is obstinately resolved to repress with great means, although the state of things has no longer any thing alarming.

“ 2. To confine the present crisis to the simple question of the excise, is to reduce it far below its true scale ; it is indubitably connected with a general explosion for some time prepared in the public mind, but which this local and precipitate eruption will cause to miscarry, or at least check for a long time. In order to see the real cause, in order to calculate the effect and the consequences, we must ascend to the origin of the parties existing in the State, and retrace their progress.

† Secretary of State of the United States Government.—See the Analysis of his Vindication, vol. ii.

“ 3. The present system of government has created malcontents. This is the lot of all new things. My predecessors have given information in detail upon the parts of the system which have particularly awakened clamours and produced enemies to the whole of it. The primitive divisions of opinion as to the political form of the State, and the limits of the sovereignty of the whole over each State individually sovereign, had created the Federalists and the Antifederalists. From a whimsical contrast between the name and the real opinion of the parties, a contrast hitherto little understood in Europe, the former aimed, and *still aim with all their power, to annihilate federalism, whilst the latter have always wished to preserve it.* This contrast was created by the *Consolidators* or the Constitutionalists, who being first in giving the denominations (a matter so important in a revolution), took for themselves that which was the most popular, although in reality it contradicted their ideas, and gave to their rivals one which would draw on them the attention of the people, notwithstanding they really wished to preserve a system whose prejudices should cherish at least the memory and the name.

“ 4. Moreover, these first divisions, of the nature of those to be destroyed by time, in proportion as the nation should have advanced in the experiment of a form of government which rendered it flourishing, might now have completely disappeared, if the system of finances which had its birth in the cradle of the constitution, had not renewed their vigour under various forms. The mode of organizing the national credit, the consolidating and funding of the public debt, the introduction in the political economy of the usage of States which prolong their existence, or ward off their fall only by expedients, imperceptibly created a financiering class who threaten to become the aristocratical order of the State. Several citizens, and among others those
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who have aided in establishing independence with their purses or their arms, conceived themselves aggrieved by those fiscal engagements. Hence an opposition which declares itself between the farming or agricultural interest, and that of the fiscal; federalism and antifederalism, which are founded on those new denominations, in proportion as the Treasury usurps a preponderance in the Government and Legislation: hence, in fine, the State, divided into partisans and enemies of the Treasurer and of his theories. In this new classification of parties, the nature of things gave popularity to the latter; an innate instinct, if I may use the expression, caused the ears of the people to revolt at the names alone of *treasurer* and *stockjobber*; but the opposite party, in consequence of its ability, obstinately persisted in leaving to its adversaries the suspicious name of *antifederalist*, whilst, in reality, they were friends of the Constitution, and enemies only of the excrescences which financiering theories threatened to attach to it.

“ 5. It is useless to stop longer to prove that the monarchical system was interwoven with those novelties of finances, and that the friends of the latter favoured the attempts which were made in order to bring the Constitution to the former by insensible gradations. The writings of influential men of this party prove it; their real opinions too avow it; and the journals of the Senate are the depositary of the first attempts.

“ 6. Let us, therefore, free ourselves from the intermediate spaces in which the progress of the system is marked, since they can add nothing to the proof of its existence; let us pass by its sympathy with our regenerating movements, while running in monarchical paths; let us arrive at the situation in which our republican revolution has placed things and parties.

“ 7. The Antifederalists disembarraß themselves of

of an insignificant denomination, and take that of patriots and of republicans: their adversaries become *aristocrats*, notwithstanding their efforts to preserve the advantageous illusion of ancient names; opinions clash, and press each other; the aristocratic attempts which formerly had appeared so insignificant, are recollected; the Treasurer, who is looked upon as their first source, is attacked; his operations and plans are denounced to the public opinion; nay, in the sessions of 1792 and 1793, a solemn inquiry into his administration was obtained. This first victory was to produce another; and it was hoped, that, faulty or innocent, the Treasurer would retire, no less by necessity in the one case, than from self-love in the other. He, emboldened by the triumph which he obtained in the useless inquiry of his enemies, of which both objects proved equally abortive, seduced besides by the momentary reverse of republicanism in Europe, removes the mask, and announces the approaching triumph of his principles.

“ 8. In the mean time, *the popular societies are formed**; political ideas concentrate themselves; the patriotic party unite and more closely connect themselves; they gain a formidable majority in the Legislature; the abasement of commerce, the slavery of navigation, and the audacity of England, strengthen it; a concert of declarations and censures against the Government arises, at which the latter is even itself astonished

“ 9. Such was the situation of things towards the close of the last, and at the beginning of the present year. Let us pass over the discontents which were most generally expressed in these critical moments: they have been sent to you at different periods, and

* They were formed by GENET, the predecessor of Fauchet; and DALLAS, Secretary of the State of Pennsylvania, was at the head of them, and was the principal agent in their formation.

in detail. In every quarter are arraigned *the imbecility of the Government towards Great Britain**; the defenceless state of the country against possible invasions; *the coldness towards the French Republic*†; the system of finance is attacked, which threatens eternising the debt under pretext of making it the guarantee of public happiness; the complication of that system which withholds from general inspection all its operations; the alarming power of the influence it procures to a man whose principles are regarded as dangerous; the preponderance which that man acquires from day to day in public measures; and, in a word, the immoral and impolitic modes of taxation, which he at first presents as expedients, and afterwards raises to permanency.

“ 10. In touching this last point we attain *the principal complaint of the Western people*‡, and the ostensible motive of their movements. Republicans by principle, independent by character and situation, they could not but accede with enthusiasm to the criminations which we have sketched. But the *excise* above all affects them. Their lands are fertile, watered with the finest rivers in the world; but the abundant fruits of their labour run the risk of perishing for the want of means of exchanging them, as those more happy cultivators do for objects which desire indicates to all men who have known only the enjoyments which Europe procures them; they

* Thus we see the *hostility* to the Federal Government arose partly from that Government's not resenting the conduct of Great Britain,

† And from the *coldness* of the Federal Government towards the Republic of France.

‡ This was the *principal* complaint; but the Frenchman conceived that a *want of resentment* towards Great Britain, and a *want of friendship* for France, were amongst the complaints of the Western people. How, then, could the Western Insurrection, as it is insinuated by the New Annual Register, *be fomented by the Agents of Great Britain?*

therefore

therefore convert the excess of their produce into liquors imperfectly fabricated, which badly supply the place of those they might procure by exchange. The *excise* is created, and strikes at this consoling transformation; their complaints are answered by the only pretext, that they are otherwise inaccessible to every species of impost. But why, in contempt of treaties, are they left to bear the yoke of the feeble Spaniard, as to the Mississippi, for upwards of twelve years? Since when has an agricultural people submitted to the unjust capricious law of a people explorers of the precious metals? Might we not suppose that Madrid and Philadelphia mutually assisted in prolonging the slavery of the river; that the proprietors of a barren coast are afraid lest the Mississippi, once opened, and its numerous branches brought into activity, their fields might become deserts; and, in a word, that commerce dreads having rivals in those interior parts as soon as their inhabitants shall cease to be subjects? This last supposition is but too well founded; an influential member of the Senate, Mr. Izard, one day in conversation undisguisedly announced it to me.

“ II. I shall be more brief in my observations on the murmurs excited by the system for the sale of lands. It is conceived to be unjust that these vast and fertile regions should be sold by provinces to capitalists, who thus enrich themselves, and retail, with immense profits to the husbandmen, possessions which they have never seen. If there were not a latent design to arrest the rapid settlement of those lands, and to prolong their infant state, why not open in the West land offices, where every body, without distinction, should be admitted to purchase by a small or large quantity? Why reserve to sell or distribute to favourites, to a clan of flatterers, of courtiers, that which belongs to the State, and
which

which should be sold to the greatest possible profit of all its members?

“ 12. Such, therefore, were the parts of the public grievance, upon which the Western people most insisted. Now, as the common dispatches inform you, *these complaints were systematizing by the conversations of influential men who retired into those wild countries, and who, from principle, or by a series of particular heart-burnings, animated discontents already too near to effervescence.* At last the local explosion is effected. The Western people calculated on being supported by some distinguished characters in the East, and even imagined they had in *the bosom of the Government* some abettors, who might share in their grievances or their principles.

“ 13. From what I have detailed above, those men might indeed be supposed numerous. The sessions of 1793 and 1794 had given importance to the republican party and solidity to its accusations. The propositions of Mr. Maddison, or his project of a navigation act, of which Mr. Jefferson was originally the author, fapped the British interest, now an integral part of the financiering system. Mr. Taylor, a republican member of the Senate, published, towards the end of the session, three pamphlets, in which this last is explored to its origin, and developed in its progress and consequences with force and method. In the last he asserts that the decrepit state of affairs resulting from that system could not but presage, under a rising Government, either a revolution or a civil war.

“ 14. The first was preparing : the Government, which had foreseen it, reproduced, under various forms, the demand of a disposable force which might put it in a respectable state of defence. Defeated in this measure, who can aver that it may not have hastened the local eruption, in order to make an advantageous diversion, and to lay the more general
storm

storm which it saw gathering? Am I not authorized in forming this conjecture from the conversation which the Secretary of State had with me and Le Blanc alone, an account of which you have in my dispatch, No. 3? But how may we expect that this new plan will be executed? By exasperating and severe measures, authorized by a law which was not solicited till the close of the session. This law gave to the one already existing for collecting the *excise*, a coercive force which hitherto it had not possessed, and a demand of which was not before ventured to be made. By means of this new law, all the refractory citizens to the old one were caused to be pursued with a sudden rigour—a great number of writs were issued. Doubtless the natural consequences, from a conduct so decisive and so harsh, were expected; and before these were manifested, the means of repression had been prepared; this was undoubtedly what Mr. Randolph meant in telling me, *that, under pretext of giving energy to the Government, it was intended to introduce absolute power, and to mislead the President in paths which would conduct him to unpopularity.*

“ 15. Whether the explosion has been provoked by the Government, or owes its birth to accident, it is certain that a commotion of some hundreds of men, who have not since been found in arms, and the very pacific union of the counties in Braddock's field, a union which has not been revived, were not symptoms which could justify the raising of so great a force as 15,000 men. Besides, the principles, uttered in the declarations hitherto made public, rather announced ardent minds to be calmed, than anarchists to be subdued. But in order to obtain something on the public opinion prepossessed against the demands contemplated to be made, it was necessary to magnify the danger, *to disfigure the views*
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of those people, to attribute to them the design of uniting themselves with England *, to alarm the citizens for the fate of the constitution, whilst in reality the revolution threatened only the ministers. This step succeeded; an army is raised :—this military part of the suppression is doubtless Mr. Hamilton's; the pacific part, and the sending of commissioners, are due to the influence of Mr. Randolph over the mind of the President, whom I delight always to believe, and whom I do believe, truly virtuous, and the friend of his fellow-citizens and principles.

“ 16. In the mean time, although there was a certainty of having an army, yet it was necessary to assure themselves of co-operators among the men whose patriotic reputation might influence their party, and whose lukewarmness, or want of energy in the existing conjunctures, might compromise the success of the plans. Of all the Governors whose duty it was to appear at the head of the requisitions, *the Governor of Pennsylvania alone, enjoyed the name*

* Now, reader, observe well, that this is the language of the French Ambassador, speaking in secret to his masters, the Directory. This man says, that, in order to magnify the danger, it was found necessary “*to disguise the views of the insurgents, and to attribute to them the design of* UNITING THEMSELVES TO ENGLAND.” It was so; and the Historian of the *New Annual Register* has lent his hand to the base political fraud. Let him not plead ignorance, for he has declared himself to be in possession of “*the best and most authentic intelligence*,” and has impudently defied his accusers to point out *one* material omission or misrepresentation. Now, it is well known, that the Report (above inserted) respecting the militia of Pennsylvania, was *published* in the autumn of 1794; yet the Historian of the *New Annual Register* suppressed the important facts it exhibits. The dispatch of FAUCHET was published in December, 1795; yet no notice has ever been taken of it by the Historian, who has thus shamefully suppressed, as far as lay in his power, the most important State Paper that ever was published in America. The *motive* of this suppression the reader will be at no loss to discover, when he perceives that the dispatch contains the most satisfactory evidence of *the turpitude of republicans*.

of republican: his opinion of the Secretary of the Treasury and of his systems was known to be unfavourable. *The Secretary of this State possessed great influence in the Popular Society of Philadelphia, which in its turn influenced those of other States; of course he merited attention.* It appears, therefore, that *these men*, with others unknown to me, all having, without doubt, *Randolph at their head*, were *balancing to decide on their party*. Two or three days before the proclamation was published, and of course before the Cabinet had resolved on its measures, *Mr. Randolph came to see me with an air of great eagerness, and made to me the overtures, of which I have given you an account, in my No. 6 **. Thus, with *some thousands of dollars*, the Republic could have *decided on civil war or on peace!* Thus the consciences of the pretended patriots of America have *already their prices!* It is very true that the certainty of these conclusions, painful to be drawn, *will for ever exist in our archives!* What will be the old age of this Government, if it is thus early decrepit! Such, Citizen, is the evident consequence of the system of finances conceived by Mr. Hamilton. He has made of a whole nation a flock-jobbing, speculating, selfish people. Riches alone here fix consideration; and as no one likes to be despised, they are universally sought after. Nevertheless this depravity has not yet embraced the mass of the people; the effects of this pernicious system have as yet but slightly touched them. Still there are patriots, of whom I delight to entertain an idea worthy of that imposing title. Consult Monroe, he is of this number; he had apprized me of the men whom the current of

* For the purport of this dispatch (No. 6) see the *Analysis of Randolph's Vindication*, vol. ii. p. 371, from which it will appear that Randolph asked the French Ambassador for *money*.

events had dragged along as bodies devoid of weight. His friend Madison is also an honest man. Jefferson, on whom the patriots cast their eyes to succeed the President, had foreseen these crises.—He prudently retired, in order to avoid making a figure against his inclination, in scenes, the secret of which will, soon or late, be brought to light.

“ 17. *As soon as it was decided that the French Republic purchased no men to do their duty, there were to be seen individuals, about whose conduct the Government could at least form uneasy conjectures, giving themselves up with a scandalous ostentation to its views, and even seconding its declarations.* The Popular Societies soon emitted resolutions stamped with the same spirit, and who, although they may have been advised by love of order, might nevertheless have omitted or uttered them with less solemnity. Then were seen coming from the very men whom we had been accustomed to regard as having little friendship for the system of the Treasurer, *harangues without end, in order to give a new direction to the public mind.* The militia, however, manifest some repugnance, particularly in Pennsylvania, for the service to which they were called. Several officers resign: at last, by excursions or harangues, incomplete requisitions are obtained, and scattered volunteer corps, from different parts, make up the deficiency. How much more interesting, than *the changeable men whom I have painted above**, were those plain citizens who answered the solicitations which were made to them to join the volunteers—‘ If we are required, we will

* This is the point which will, by and by, arrest our attention. In the mean time, the reader will observe, that FAUCHET confirms my account of the arming of the militia, and completely oversets that of his good friend, the Historian of the *New Annual Register*.

march, because we do not wish not to have a government, but to arm ourselves as volunteers would be in appearance subscribing implicitly to the excise system, which we reprobate.'

" 18. What I have said above, authorizes then our resting on the opinion become incontestable, that in the crisis which has burst, and in the means employed for restoring order, the true question was the destruction or the triumph of the Treasurer's plans. This being once established, let us pass over the facts related in the common dispatches, and see how the Government, or the Treasurer, will take from the very stroke which threatened his system, the safe opportunity of humbling the adverse party, and of silencing their enemies, whether open or concealed. The army marched—the President made known that he was going to command it—he set out for Carlisle—Hamilton, as I have understood, requested to follow him—the President dared not to refuse him. It does not require much penetration to divine the object of this journey: in the President it was wise; it might also be his duty. But in Mr. Hamilton it was a consequence of the profound policy which directs all his steps; a measure dictated by a perfect knowledge of the human heart. Was it not interesting for him, for his party, tottering under the weight of events without, and accusations within, to proclaim an intimacy more perfect than ever with the President, whose very name is a sufficient shield against the most formidable attacks? Now what more evident mark could the President give of his intimacy, than by suffering Mr. Hamilton, whose name even is understood in the West as that of a public enemy, to go and place himself at the head of the army which went, if I may use the expression, to cause his system to triumph against the opposition of the people? The presence of Mr. Hamilton with the army must attach it more than ever to his

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party :

party : we see what ideas these circumstances give birth to on both sides ; all, however, to the advantage of the Secretary.

“ 19. Three weeks had they encamped in the West without a single armed man appearing. However, the President, or those who wished to make the most of this new manœuvre, made it public that he was going to command in person. The session of Congress being very near, it was wished to try whether there could not be obtained from the presses, which were supposed to have changed, a silence, whence to conclude the possibility of infringing the constitution in its most essential part ; in that which fixes the relation of the President with the Legislature. But the patriotic papers laid hold of this artful attempt : I am certain that the office of the Secretary of State, which alone remained at Philadelphia (for while the Minister of Finance was with the army, the Minister of War was on a tour to the province of Maine, 400 miles from Philadelphia), maintained the controversy in favour of the opinion which it was desired to establish. A comparison between the President and the English Monarch was introduced, who, far removed from Westminster, yet strictly fulfils his duty of sanctioning ; it was much insisted on, that the Constitution declares that the President commands the armed force ; this similitude was treated with contempt ; the consequence of the power of commanding in person, drawn from the right to command in chief (or direct) the force of the State, was ridiculed, and reduced to an absurdity, by supposing a fleet at sea and an army on land. The result of this controversy was, that some days after it was announced that the President would come to open the approaching session.

“ 20. During his stay at Bedford, the President doubtless concerted the plan of the campaign with Mr. Lee, to whom he left the command in chief.—
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The letter by which he delegates the command to him, is that of a virtuous man, at least as to the major part of the sentiments which it contains; he afterwards set out for Philadelphia, where he has just arrived, and Mr. Hamilton remains with the army.

“ 21. This last circumstance unveils all the plan of the Secretary; he presides over the military operations, in order to acquire, in the sight of his enemies, a formidable and imposing consideration. He and Mr. Lee, the commander in chief, agree perfectly in principles. The Governors of Jersey and Maryland harmonize entirely with them; the Governor of Pennsylvania, of whom it never would have been suspected, lived intimately and publicly with Hamilton. Such a union of persons would be matter sufficient to produce resistance in the western counties, even admitting they had not thought of making any.

“ 22. The soldiers themselves are astonished at the scandalous gaiety, with which those who possess the secret, proclaim their approaching triumph.—It is asked, of what use are 15,000 men in this country, in which provisions are scarce, and where are to be seized only some turbulent men at their plough? Those who conducted the expedition know this; the matter is to create a great expense; when the sums shall come to be assessed, no one will be willing to pay; and, should each pay his assessment, it will be done in cursing the insurgent principles of the patriots,

“ 23. It is impossible to make a more able manoeuvre for the opening of Congress. The passions, the generous indignation, which had agitated their minds in the last session, were about being renewed with still more vigour; there was nothing to announce of brilliant successes which they had promised. The hostilities of Great Britain on the Con-

tinent, so long disguised, and now become evident, a commerce always harassed, ridiculous negotiations lingering at London, waiting until new conjunctures should authorize new insults : such was the picture they were likely to have to offer the Representatives of the People. But this crisis, and the great movements made to prevent its consequences, change the state of things. With what advantage do they denounce an atrocious attack upon the Constitution, and appreciate the activity used to repress it ! The aristocratical party will soon have understood the secret ; all the misfortunes will be attributed to the patriots ; the party of the latter is about being deserted by all the weak men, and this complete session will have been gained.

“ 24. Who knows what will be the limits of this triumph ? Perhaps advantage will be taken by it to obtain some laws *for strengthening the Government*, and still more precipitating the propensity, already visible, that it has towards aristocracy.

“ 25. Such are, Citizen, the data which I possess concerning these events, and the consequences I draw from them ; I wish I may be deceived in my calculations, and the good disposition of the people ; their attachment to principles leads me to expect it. I have, perhaps, herein fallen into the repetition of reflections and facts contained in other dispatches ; but I wished to present together some views which I have reason to ascribe to the ruling party, and some able manœuvres invented to support themselves.— Without participating in the passions of the parties, I observe them ; and I owe to my country an exact and strict account of the situation of things. I shall make it my duty to keep you regularly informed of every change that may take place ; above all, I shall apply myself to penetrate the disposition of the Legislature ; that will not a little assist in forming the final idea which we ought to have of these movements.

ments, and what we should really fear or hope from them.

“ Health and fraternity.

(Signed) “ J. FAUCHET.”

On commenting on this ever-memorable dispatch, the first thing I shall do is, to recall the reader's attention to the facts contained in the 16th and 17th paragraphs, where it is clearly stated, that MIFFLIN, the Governor of Pennsylvania, DALLAS, the Secretary of that State (who was also the leader in the Popular Societies established by Genet), RANDOLPH, the Secretary of State for the United States Government, with others unknown to *Fauchet*, were balancing which side they should take, that of the Federal Government, or that of the Western Insurgents. It is further stated, that RANDOLPH went to the French Ambassador, to whom he made overtures, which would have enabled the French Republic, if her Ambassador had some thousands of dollars at his disposal, to have decided *on civil war*, or *on peace*.

While this plan of obtaining money from France was in agitation, MIFFLIN, DALLAS, and RANDOLPH, were using their utmost exertions to prevent rigorous measures on the part of the Federal Government. By recurring to the Report, which Secretary DALLAS made to the Legislature of Pennsylvania, in justification of the tardy conduct of the Governor, in assembling the quota of the State, the reader will perceive, that numerous pretexts were invented for not calling out the militia, and that every possible obstacle was, for a long time, thrown in the way of an obedience to the orders of the President.

While MIFFLIN and DALLAS were thus engaged in keeping back the quota of Pennsylvania (which was to form one half of the army), RANDOLPH was

as busily employed in embarrassing and intimidating the councils of the Federal Government. He was one of the four officers of state, whom the President consulted; and the following letter, written just before the time when FAUCHET states the money overtures to have been made to him, will clearly show the connexion of his advice with those overtures.

Edmund Randolph to the President.

“ SIR, *Philadelphia, 5th August, 1794.*

“ The late events in the neighbourhood of Pittsburg appeared, on the first intelligence of them, to be extensive in their relations. But subsequent reflection, and *the conference with the Governor of Pennsylvania*, have multiplied them in my mind tenfold. Indeed, Sir, the moment is big with a crisis, which would convulse the eldest government; and if it should burst on ours, its extent and dominion can be but faintly conjectured.

“ At our first consultation, in your presence, the indignation which we all felt, at the outrages committed, created a desire, that the information received should be laid before an associate Justice, or the district Judge: to be considered under the act of May 2, 1792. This step was urged by the necessity of understanding, without delay, all the means vested in the President, for suppressing the progress of the mischief. A caution, however, was prescribed to the Attorney General, who submitted the documents to the Judge, not to express the most distant wish of the President that the certificate should be granted.

“ The certificate has been granted; and although the testimony is not, in my judgment, yet in sufficient legal form, to become the groundwork of such an act; and a Judge ought not *à priori* to decide

that the Marshal is incompetent to suppress the combinations by the *posse comitatus*, yet the certificate, if it be minute enough, is conclusive, that, “ in the
 “ counties of Washington and Alleghany in Penn-
 “ sylvania, laws of the United States are opposed,
 “ and the execution thereof obstructed by combina-
 “ tions too powerful to be suppressed by the ordi-
 “ nary course of judicial proceedings, or by the
 “ powers vested in the Marshal of that district.”—
 But the certificate specifies no particular law which has been opposed. This defect, I remarked to Judge Wilson, from whom the certificate came, and observed, that the design of the law being, that a Judge should point out to the Executive, where the Judiciary stood in need of military aid, it was frustrated if military force should be applied to laws, which the Judge might not contemplate. He did not yield to my reasoning; and therefore I presume that the objection will not be received against the validity of the certificate.

“ Upon the supposition of its being valid, a power arises to the President, to call forth the militia of Pennsylvania, and eventually the militia of other States, which may be convenient. But as the law does not compel the President to array the militia in consequence of the certificate, and renders it lawful only for him so to do; the grand inquiry is, *whether it be expedient to exercise this power at this time.*

“ On many occasions have I contended, that, whensoever military coercion is to be resorted to in support of law, the militia are the true, proper, and only instruments which ought to be employed. But a calm survey of the situation of the United States has presented these dangers and these objections, and *banishes every idea of calling them into immediate action.*

“ 1. A radical and universal dissatisfaction with the excise, pervades the four transmontane counties of Pennsylvania, having more than sixty-three thousand souls in the whole, and more than fifteen thousand white males above the age of sixteen. The counties on the eastern side of the mountain, and some other populous counties, are infected by similar prejudices, inferior in degree, and dormant, but not extinguished.

“ 2. Several counties in Virginia, having a strong militia, *participate in these feelings.*

“ 3. The insurgents themselves, numerous, are more closely united by like dangers, with friends and kindred, scattered abroad in different places, who will enter into all the apprehensions, and combine in all the precautions of safety adopted by them.

“ 4. As soon, too, as any event of eclat shall occur, around which persons, discontented on other principles, whether of aversion to the Government, or disgust with any measures of the Administration, may rally, *they will make a common cause.*

“ 5. *The Governor of Pennsylvania* has declared his opinion to be, that the militia, which can be drawn forth, *will be unequal to the task.*

“ 6. If the militia of other States are to be called forth, *it is not a decided thing, that many of them may not refuse.* And if they comply, is nothing to be apprehended from a strong cement growing between all the militia of Pennsylvania, when they perceive, that another militia is to be introduced into the bosom of their country? *The experiment is at least untried.*

“ 7. *The expense of a military expedition will be very great;* and with a devouring Indian war, the commencement of a navy, the sum to be expended for obtaining a peace with Algiers, the destruction
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of our mercantile capital by British depredations, the uncertainty of war or peace with Great Britain, the impatience of the people under increased taxes, the punctual support of our credit ;—it behoves those who manage our fiscal matters to be sure of their pecuniary resources, when so great a field of new and unexpected expense is to be opened.

“ 8. Is there any appropriation of money, which can be immediately devoted to this use ? If not, how can money be drawn ? It is said that appropriations are to the war department generally ; but it may deserve inquiry, whether they were not made upon particular statements of a kind of service, *essentially distinct from the one proposed.*

“ *If the intelligence of the overtures of the British to the Western Counties be true, and the inhabitants should be driven to accept their aid**, the supplies of the western army—the western army itself may be destroyed ; the reunion of that country to the United States will be impracticable ; and we must be engaged in a British war. *If the intelligence be probable only*, how difficult will it be to reconcile the world to believe that we have been consistent in our conduct ; when, after running the hazard of mortally offending the French by the punctilious observance of neutrality ; after deprecating the wrath of the English by every possible act of government ; after the request for the suspension of the settlement at Presque Isle, which has in some measure been founded on the possibility of Great Britain being roused to arms by it ; we pursue measures which threaten collision with Great Britain, and which are mixed with the blood of our fellow-citizens !

* The reader will here recur to what FAUCHET says on this subject : “ It was necessary,” says he, “ *to DISGUISE the motives of the insurgents, to attribute to them the design of UNITING THEMSELVES WITH ENGLAND.*”

“ 10. If miscarriage should befall the United States in the beginning, what may not be the consequence? And if this should not happen, is it possible to foresee what may be the effect of ten, twenty, or thirty thousand of our citizens being drawn into the field against as many more? *There is another enemy in the heart of the Southern States, who would not sleep with such an opportunity of advantage* *.

“ 11. It is a fact well known, that the parties in the United States are highly inflamed against each other; and that there is but one character which keeps both in awe. As soon as the sword shall be drawn, who will be able to restrain them?

“ On this subject the souls of some good men bleed: they have often asked themselves why they are always so jealous of military power, whenever it has been proposed to be exercised under the form of a succour to the civil authority? How has it happened, that, with a temper not addicted to suspicion, nor unfriendly to those who propose military force, they do not court the shining reputation which is acquired by being always ready for strong measures? This is the reason; that they are confident that they know the ultimate sense of the people; that the will of the people must force its way in the Government; that, notwithstanding the indignation which may be raised against the insurgents, yet if measures unnecessarily harsh, disproportionably harsh, and without a previous trial of every thing which law or the spirit of conciliation can do, be executed, that indignation will give way, and the people will be estranged from the Administration which made the experiment. There is a second reason; one motive, assigned in argument, for calling forth the militia, has been, that a government can never be said to be established until some signal display has manifested its power of

* The Negro slaves.

military coercion. This maxim, if indulged, would heap curses upon the Government. The strength of a government is the affection of the people; and while that is maintained, every invader, every insurgent, will as certainly count upon the fear of its strength, as if it had with one army of citizens mown down another.

“ Let the parties in the United States be ever kindled into action, sentiments like these will produce a flame *which will not terminate in a common revolution.*

“ Knowing, Sir, as I do, the motives which govern you in office, I was certain that you would be anxious to mitigate, as far as you thought it practicable, the military course which has been recommended. You have accordingly suspended the force of the preceding observations, by determining not to call forth the militia immediately to action, and to send Commissioners, who may explain and adjust, if possible, the present discontents.

“ The next question then is, whether the militia shall be directed to hold themselves in readiness, or shall not be summoned at all?

“ It has been supposed by some gentlemen, that when reconciliation is offered with one hand, terror should be borne in the other; and that a full amnesty and oblivion shall not be granted, unless the excise laws be complied with in the fullest manner.

“ With a language such as this, the overtures of peace will be considered delusive by the insurgents, and the most of the world. It will be said and believed, that the design of sending Commissioners was only to gloss over hostility; to endeavour to divide; to sound the strength of the insurgents; to discover the most culpable persons, to be marked out for punishment; to temporize until Congress can be prevailed upon to order further force, or the western army may be at leisure from the savages, to be turned
upon

upon the insurgents; and many other suspicions will be entertained which cannot be here enumerated. When Congress talked of some high-handed steps against Great Britain, they were disapproved, as counteracting Mr. Jay's mission; because it could not be expected she would be dragooned. Human nature will, to a certain point, show itself to be the same, even among the Alleghany mountains. The mission will, I fear, fail; though it would be to me the most grateful occurrence in life to find my prediction falsified. If it does fail, and in consequence of the disappointment the militia should be required to act, then will return that fatal train of events, which I have stated above, to be suspended for the present.

“What would be the inconvenience of delay? The result of the mission would be known in four weeks, and the President would be master of his measures, without any previous commitment. Four weeks could not render the insurgents more formidable; that space of time might render them less so, by affording room for reflection; and the Government will have a sufficient season remaining to action. Until every peaceable attempt shall be exhausted, it is not clear to me, that as soon as the call is made, and the proclamation issued, the militia may not enter into some combination, which will satisfy the insurgents that they need fear nothing from them, and spread those combinations among the militia.

“My opinion therefore is, that the Commissioners will be furnished with enough on the score of terror, when they announce, that the President is in possession of the certificate of the Judge. It will confirm the humanity of the mission; and, notwithstanding some men might pay encomiums on decision, vigour of nerves, &c. &c. if the militia were summoned to be held in readiness, the majority would

would conceive the merit of the mission incomplete if this were to be done.

“ It will not, however, be supposed, that I mean that these outrages are to pass without animadversion. No, Sir. That the authority of Government is to be maintained is not less my position than that of others. But I prefer the accomplishment of this by every experiment of moderation in the first instance. The steps, therefore, which I would recommend are,—

“ 1. A serious proclamation, stating the mischief, declaring the power possessed by the Executive, and announcing that it is withheld from motives of humanity, and a wish for conciliation.

“ 2. Commissioners, properly instructed to the same objects.

“ 3. If they fail in their mission, let the offenders be prosecuted according to law.

“ 4. If the judiciary authority is, after this, withheld, let the militia be called out.

“ These appear to me to be the only means for producing unanimity in the people: and without their unanimity Government may be mortified and defeated.

“ If the President shall determine to operate with the militia, it will be necessary to submit some animadversions upon the interpretation of the law. For it ought closely to be considered, whether, if the combinations should disperse, the execution of process is not to be left to the Marshal and his *posse*. But these will be deferred, until orders shall be discussed for the militia to march.

“ I have the honour, Sir, to be,

“ With the highest respect

“ And sincerest attachment,

“ Your most obedient servant,

“ EDM. RANDOLPH.”

Never did the imagination of a traitor conceive a more formidable chain of obstacles than is presented in this letter, which failed not to produce its effect; for the President, had he at once issued his orders to assemble the forces, might have extinguished the insurrection long before the time that it was finally effected, and might have saved all the expense and toil with which the expedition was attended.

Now to trace this advice of RANDOLPH, and the sluggish conduct of MIFFLIN, to their true cause, we have only to recur once more to FAUCHET's dispatch, paragraph 16.—“As soon,” says he, “as it was decided, that the *French Government purchased no men to do their duty*, there were to be seen individuals, about whose conduct the Government might at least form uneasy conjectures, giving themselves up with a scandalous ostentation to its views, and even seconding its declarations. *Then were seen coming from these men harangues without end, in order to give a new direction to the public mind, &c.*” By looking over the Report to the Legislature of Pennsylvania, it will be seen, that, till after the end of August (when the money overtures were, for want of cash, rejected), the Governor of Pennsylvania made no exertions to assemble the militia; but, *after the overtures had failed*, then he began his “*tour through the counties.*” On this tour he made “*harangues without end, in order to give a new direction to the public mind.*” RANDOLPH's change of conduct was more remarkable still. He wrote a series of essays against the insurgents, which essays were industriously circulated through the country, in the public papers. Having failed in their project for obtaining the pecuniary aid of France, these men were anxious to remove all ground of suspicion, by appearing to entertain an extraordinary degree of anger against the insurgents. Hence the “*scandalous ostentation*” of which Fauchet speaks, and which did,

did, indeed, excite, at the time, no small degree of amazement in the people of Pennsylvania.

The army marched, and the insurrection was quelled. The *New Annual Register* takes great pains to propagate the belief that this event produced no evil at all. According to the account which it gives of the expedition, one would imagine, that the troops had a very pleasant excursion of about two months ; that they found their deluded countrymen full of penitence for what they had done ; that both sides were instantly reconciled ; and that peace was restored without violence or injury. I shall quote its words :

“ In the beginning of October the President in
 “ person joined the army at Carlisle, of which Go-
 “ vernor Lee of Virginia was appointed Commander
 “ in Chief, and Governor Mifflin second in com-
 “ mand. From Carlisle the army proceeded to Fort
 “ Bedford. In their route they experienced no op-
 “ position, and several of the leading insurgents were
 “ apprehended. On the approach of the main army,
 “ amounting to 7000 men, who expected hourly to
 “ be joined by a reinforcement of 6000 from Cum-
 “ berland, the insurgents suddenly disbanded, and
 “ their leaders disappeared. On the 25th of October
 “ a respectable meeting of the principal planters and
 “ inhabitants of the western counties was held at
 “ Pittsburg, where they entered into a solemn reso-
 “ lution to submit to the laws of the republic, and
 “ to promote order and good government by every
 “ means in their power. Though every appearance
 “ now manifested the return of peace and good order,
 “ General Washington judged it prudent to station
 “ a small force for a certain period in the disaffected
 “ counties. These measures had the desired effect ;
 “ the insurgents who were taken, we have under-
 “ stood, were all pardoned ; and thus, by a *happy*
 “ *mixture of firmness with moderation, an insurrection,*
 “ *which, under a rash and intemperate administration,*
 “ might

“ might have had the most fatal effects, *was quelled*
 “ *without bloodshed*, and *almost without violence or*
 “ *loss.*”

This compliment the Historian of the *New Annual Register* would have bestowed on no Government but a *republican* one. It is my business, however, to state *truths*, and to strip off the disguise with which this artful promulgator of falsehoods has constantly endeavoured to hide the weaknesses and crimes of that species of government, or rather that species of anarchy. The insurrection was put an end to, he tells us, “ *almost without violence or loss.*” Your little qualifying words are very useful to a writer like this. *Almost, hardly, much about*, and the like, are words on which the Historian of the *New Annual Register* places his chief dependance, in cases of detection. He knows very well, that nineteen twentieths of his readers are totally uninformed as to the matter on which he writes; and he also knows, that, amongst those who are able to detect him, very few will ever take the pains to do it. If any one should give himself the trouble to drag him before the public, then the crafty and malicious liar has recourse to his *saving phrases*; he makes out a plausible defence, and the stupid public not only pardons him, but again places confidence in his statements.

“ *Almost without violence or loss.*” The *loss* to the Treasury of the United States, and that of the particular States which supplied troops for the expedition, amounted to *one million and a half of dollars*, which was one fourth part of the whole revenue of the United States for that year. In *men* the loss was *four hundred and forty-one of the troops, who died before the return of the army*. Some of these would, undoubtedly, have died at home, during the same time; but I think we may fairly place three hundred deaths to the fatigues, hardships, and dissipation occasioned by the march. I saw the Pennsylvania troops enter Philadelphia

Philadelphia on their return, and never did my eyes behold so deplorable a sight. They were dirty, ragged, and lean, except the young men of the city, who had clothed and equipped *themselves*, and who had expended thirty or forty pounds each to purchase comforts on their march: they looked more like a procession of paupers going to a workhouse, than like an army returning triumphant from the campaign.

But it is necessary to give some account of *the conduct of the army towards the people*. This I shall take from CALLENDER, who has given a sketch of the history of the campaign, and who has brought together those facts related by FINDLEY and BRACKENRIDGE, the only persons who published any thing on the subject. The reader will have no very high opinion of the veracity of CALLENDER (see vol. ii. p. 5, and several other parts of this work); nor will he, when he shall be acquainted with the characters of FINDLEY and BRACKENRIDGE, place implicit confidence in what either of them may say, or swear: but these men have related facts, they have published them, and they have hitherto remained uncontradicted by their opponents. I could relate some curious things respecting the expedition, which have never yet been noticed in print; but, whenever I can do it, I love to refer to the republicans themselves. I shall now insert CALLENDER's sketch, observing that the author entertains an attachment to France, and to republicanism, full as warm and as sincere as that of the Historian of the New Annual Register. It appears strange, at first sight, that the partisans of France, who are in America, should be opposed to the Federal Government, while those of her partisans who are in England, are continually loading that government with eulogiums; but, from a close view of the subject, we shall perceive that the conduct of both is perfectly consistent, and has a direct

tendency to the same object. In England the most effectual way of injuring the cause of monarchy, and of serving France, is to make the silly people believe that out of the American rebellion has grown a government infinitely better than that which that rebellion destroyed; but in America it is necessary to decry this same excellent government, in order to prepare the way for its destruction, and for shifting its power into the hands of France. Thus was it with respect to Switzerland. Till that country was overrun by France, its policy, its government, its laws, its religion, and its customs, were the everlasting theme of applause with all those who wished to destroy the monarchy of England. But no sooner did the infernal nation lay their rapacious and bloody hands on her, than those very same men, and women too, who had before painted Switzerland as the paradise of freedom, began to discover that it was the very hell of slavery; and were France to overturn the Federal Government, and all the State Governments in America, we should soon hear the Historian of the New Annual Register, and other writers of the same stamp, representing those governments as the worst of despotisms. With them the interests of the French Republic outweigh every other consideration; they regard her as the greatest and most powerful patron of rebellion, and they serve her with fidelity, zeal, and enthusiasm.

A Sketch of the History of the Western Insurrection, by James Thomson Callender, published at Philadelphia, 1798.

The money for defraying the expense of the army was supplied in direct opposition to the Constitution. That instrument, Article I. Section ix. Clause 6. says,

says, that "no money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in consequence of appropriations *made by law*." There existed a statute, authorizing the President to call out the militia, in case of an insurrection; but, by an oversight in framing the law, he had no power to take money from the Treasury to support them. "The monies drawn from the Treasury on that occasion (the Western Expedition), were paid out of a fund appropriated for *other and distinct purposes*; they were not drawn, agreeable to the constitution, in consequence of any appropriation made by law. It might be a defect in the law, authorizing the expense, not to have provided the means; but that defect should have been remedied by the only competent authority, by convening Congress*." This omission in the law shows the masterly style in which our statutes are sometimes composed.

If the bombardment of a British fleet, or the disembarkation of a French army, had not left one moment to spare, ingulfing necessity would justly have superseded all forms, and vindicated the irregular abstraction of a million of dollars. Yet even in that case, the President, at the next meeting of Congress, ought to have explained and apologized for the measure.

But no such imminent danger had a being. There was ample time to have assembled Congress. Neville the Inspector's house was burnt on the 17th of July, 1794. The first proclamation by the President was issued on the 7th of August, and the second on the 25th of September following. It was not till after the latter date that the militia were ordered to march. The seven weeks intervening between the two proclamations allowed full time for assembling the Legislature. Of this Mr. Adams hath afforded an

* Gallatin, p. 82.

instance, in the first session of the fifth Congress. Instead of this legal and practicable measure, the President, Washington, walked straight through the Constitution, through the privileges of the Legislature, and the duties of his own respective office.

If Congress had been previously called, the very report of their assembling would have struck a mortal damp into this thoughtless rabble, who had neither plans, leaders, nor resources. The solemnity of the step was sure of making a considerable impression. Time would have been gained also for more accurate information; and as the fifteen thousand militia, who did march over the mountains, never saw an enemy, it is to be supposed that five thousand could have done the business equally well.

But Mr. Hamilton had many good reasons for not wishing to call Congress. The sound policy of the excise law would have met with a severe discussion. The expense and danger of a civil war must have rendered excise completely odious. Every lenient measure was sure to have been tried before a single regiment would be ordered to march, and the sequel shows that they must have been successful.—The sober and substantial mass of the western citizens, though averse to excise, were yet firm on the side of Government. In the prospect of an agreement, Hamilton saw nothing but the reprobation of his measures, and the fracture of his importance. The parties in Congress are nicely poised; but every legislative assembly has a number of doubtful members; and the natural aversion to civil bloodshed held out an irresistible cause, or a solid pretence, for universally deserting the six per cent. standard. In this case, the latter could not, probably, have mustered one third of the members, and minorities are always dangerous to a political party. The republicans abhor the ex-secretary with a cordiality of hatred equal to his own. They consider him as a second Pando-

ra's box, from whose transcendent capacities for mischief have exclusively and collectively sprung the whole political misfortunes of America. The utmost force of the party was certain, therefore, to have been levelled personally at him, and his vulnerable sides offered an ample verge for the quivers of invective. Hence he shunned a previous meeting of Congress, where it was more than an equal chance that he should find not protection and triumph, but reproach and defeat. This seems to be the only rational key to his conduct in hazarding a civil war, and a rape upon the Treasury, without consulting the Legislature.

The insignificance of their conduct when they did meet, showed that the victory of Mr. Hamilton was as complete in Philadelphia as at Pittsburg. On the 19th of November, 1794, the President addressed the two Houses *. He began, *as usual*, with a reference to *divine goodness*, and to the riches, power, and happiness, for which America seems destined. A pompous and exaggerated sketch was then given of the insurrection. Certain self-created societies were referred to, as having assumed the tone of condemnation towards the measures of Government. But the President forgot to mention, and much less to apologize for, the self-created power of taking a million of dollars from the public Treasury. When he related the outrages committed upon officers of Government, he overlooked the provocations by which they had been excited, the numerous instances of mismanagement on the part of the Secretary of the Treasury, by which they had been fostered, and the thousand-fold enormities of the Federal army, and of that Secretary under which they had been overwhelmed. There is a French fable of a gardener, and

* See this Speech, vol. ii. p. 157.

a hare, that sometimes came through the hedge and cropt his cabbages. He represented the case to a gentleman, who, next day, with a pack of hounds, entered the garden in chase of her. The dogs did more mischief in five minutes, than the hare could have done in seven years; and, after all, puss got away.

This is a concise and impartial picture of the Federal army, with one small distinction, that the gardener was a fool, and the Secretary a knave. Never think that you understand the story of this insurrection, till you read Findley and Brackenridge.

Mr. Brackenridge writes with more ease and vivacity than Mr. Findley. His perspicuity, his simplicity, his picturesque minuteness, conduct his reader into the scene of action. You see, hear, and feel, just as the author actually did; and this itself is a talent of high excellence. Amidst much entertainment, candour will forgive the serious or affected vanity that sometimes peeps through the curtain of his mind. These two writers have been neglected. An estimate of the sales may induce a belief that they have never been perused by more than two or three thousand American Citizens, that is to say, by perhaps a two hundredth part of the community at large. Without such a perusal, however, it is impossible to comprehend the nature and effects of the western riots. The declamation that fills the Federal gazettes and pamphlets cannot afford a just or luminous conception of this all-important subject; which is, therefore, grossly and almost universally misunderstood. Next to the composition of a good book by yourself, one of the best services to the public is the recommending of another which has been overlooked.

After thus explaining where a proper account of the insurrection may be found, we go back to the President, his Congress, and his speech. "It has

“ been a spectacle,” says he, “ displaying to the
“ highest advantage, the value of republican go-
“ vernment, to behold the most and the least weal-
“ thy of our citizens, standing in the ranks as pri-
“ vate soldiers, pre-eminently distinguished by being
“ the army of the constitution.” He ought to have
said, of *monarchical* government, for every part of
the business bore the stamp of despotism. In the
first place, the four counties were outlawed on the
single notification of Judge Wilson. That *any* sin-
gle man should have been intrusted with so vast a
discretionary power, was inconsistent with *republican*
freedom.

General Washington sent Commissioners to treat
with the insurgents; but if Hamilton had been Pre-
sident, he would immediately have marched against
them, and the four counties must have been covered
with blood and ashes, by the official temerity of one
man, and the ferocious impetuosity of another. This
is but a poor specimen of republican government
and yet it might take place.

Again, the army was raised on principles purely
monarchical. The President acted solely on the au-
thority of a law investing him, during the recess of
Congress, with unlimited power; a law that may one
day overturn the Constitution. Let us explain it by
the following supposition: the present Congress will
cease to exist on the 3d of March, 1799. On the
4th, Mr. Adams may get a certificate from some
confidential Judge, that Virginia or Tennessee is in a
state of rebellion. Whether the story be true or
false, rests entirely within his breast. He directly
calls out the militia; and as this insurrection is ten
times more dangerous than that of Braddock's field,
he requires an hundred and fifty thousand men. He
sets out at their head, parades four or eight hundred
miles, renews the horrors of the western expedition,
and, till the first Monday of December thereafter, he
and

and his militia are absolute masters of America — They proceed at an expence of two hundred thousand dollars per day, to be drawn from a treasury which has not one spare shilling. No part of the Constitution can, practically, stop Mr. Adams in his progress. The Legislature does not assemble till the first Monday of December, unless the mere accident of a law by their predecessors may have ordained a more early date. Even this remedy could easily be prevented. On a preconcerted plan, the majority in the Senate would be sure to reject any bill for the more early meeting of Congress. Thus nine months of a royal *interregnum* might readily put an end to the Government. The precedent set by General Washington for emptying the Treasury, would greatly facilitate such a conspiracy. The above explanation clearly proves, that, *according to law*, our lives and properties may soon be at the mercy of some chief magistrate.

The Federal army did not then display the spectacle of a republic, but the embryo of royalty hatched in the dregs of legislative ignorance. Congress gave the President authority as good as unlimited, for raising an army; but they forgot to inform him in what way that army was to be paid. This was, as if a merchant should send a ship to the West Indies, and forget to furnish her with biscuit or water. What imbecility, what unacquaintance with the first principles of legislation, are unfolded in this Congressional performance! Its worst parts might be amended by a clause like the following:

“ The President shall not be permitted to call out
 “ the militia, till he has held a council with the
 “ Vice-president, the three Secretaries, the Attorney-general, and the Governors of at least four
 “ of the States nearest to the seat of the Federal
 “ Government. Of these nine, six with himself
 “ may form a quorum; and a majority of at least
 “ five

“ five members shall decide. Every opinion shall
 “ be given in writing, and each of the council shall
 “ be answerable and impeachable for his vote. The
 “ proclamation for the actual calling out of the mi-
 “ litia should be directed to contain a summons for
 “ the meeting of Congress, it being otherwise high
 “ treason to obey the call. Leave should also be
 “ granted to take the requisite sums from the Treas-
 “ ury ; or if not there, a case very likely, the
 “ council might be authorized to open a loan.”

Till some amendment of this kind shall be made, the liberty of the United States must be in serious hazard. General Washington went to the Treasury, Some future President may go to the Bank. The one step will not be a jot worse than the other. The act, when amended, should be annexed to the Constitution, lest some future Congress might dare to repeal it. The prospect of mischief is not distant. Its approach may soon be expected. Deriving, like Venus, his birth from the deep, the United States have already been harassed with their Machiavel. If Washington did not act that of Cromwell, it may be ascribed to the soundness of his judgment, and the consciousness that a party who basked under the splendour of his name, left him almost nothing to be desired.

Passing over the rest of this speech, we come next to the answer of the Senate. It ran, as usual, in a fulsome echo. As if this trifle had been worth notice, the President replied with much satisfaction on finding that his conduct was approved by “ the enlightened representatives of a free nation.” In the last sentence he alluded to “ those *judicious* and *spirited* exertions, which have brought victory to our western army.” He was at the head of an army for seven years and an half. He was several times beaten. His fame as a conqueror rests on the cap-
 ture

ture of nine hundred Hessians*. Hence General Washington may have misunderstood the meaning of the word *victory*. But, in common language, a battle must always go before a victory. Now the western army never saw a person in arms against them.— They stabbed a man who was in liquor, or mad; they shot a boy who was sick. And these two acts of homicide or murder, include the whole bloodshed of the campaign. The troops did not so much as meet with any share of that fugitive opposition exerted by a gang of English smugglers on the coast of Sussex. From what hath since transpired, a single British regiment of foot, another of horse, and two field-pieces, would, at a twentieth part of the expense, have been altogether equal to the performances of our fifteen thousand militia.

The answer of congratulation from the Senate passed immediately. That from the Representatives cost more time. They began to debate on Monday the 24th of November, 1794; and this first day was spent on a notable dispute. One part of the proposed address had these words: “we cannot otherwise “than warmly approve of a policy in our foreign “affairs,” &c. *Your* policy was recommended as better. After exactly twenty speeches upon it, the clause was wholly withdrawn, as the House could not agree, and were ashamed to divide on the respective merits of the article and the pronoun. The President had cast an oblique reflection on *self-created societies*, as fomenting the insurrection. It was proposed that the answer should echo this censure *verbatim*. The debate lasted till Thursday afternoon,

* What a figure would our American campaigns make beside the history of the war of seven years! In two lines Frederic relates that Winterfeldt overtook three thousand Pandours, cut them to pieces, or drove them into a marsh. This is all we hear of the story.

and the precise echo was rejected by forty-seven votes against forty-six. Next morning, some loquacious members wanted to renew the contest. On this, Mr. McDowell said, that *twenty-five* days of the session were now elapsed, and he was at a loss to know *what the House had been doing*. The words *combinations of men* were put instead of *self-created societies*, into the repercussion of censure. Thus the answer passed.

It is proper to take some notice of these traits, as a warning to future Legislatures. After all this wrangling, the paper in question proved but a poor production. If truth or reason, or the public service, had been at all consulted, the House would have begun by asking the Executive why he took from the Treasury eleven hundred thousand dollars, without their leave, and in contempt of the Constitution? Why did he not take measures, as he very well might have done, for checking this riot in the bud? Why he raised an army of such enormous numbers, when a fifth part of them, at the utmost, could have done the business? Why he permitted Alexander Hamilton to engross such extravagant authority? And why the whole country was insulted, the prisoners, and even witnesses, so barbarously treated?

It was not from want of good will, in forty-seven members, that these questions were avoided. But, such was the popularity of the President, and the universal rage excited against the rioters, that the smallest resistance to adulation of the Executive would have been held as bad as treason. In allusion to the assembling the militia, the Representatives, amidst other encomiums, have the following words: "The spectacle, therefore, when viewed in its true
" light, may well be affirmed to display, in equal
" lustre, the virtues of the American character, and
" the value of republican government." Such a
racket

racket has been made about the raising of this western army, and the sublime patriotism by which it was inspired, that something more shall be said upon it.

If the western people had been able or willing to stand an attack, not one half of the militia were fit for fighting. The ranks were crowded by young men, altogether unacquainted with the use of arms*. On the 9th of January, 1795, General Smith told the House of Representatives, that "numbers of the militia did not know how to set up a tent. The Virginian militia who went out, were neither trained nor disciplined. As for the Marylanders, when he drew part of them out, and ordered them to load, he found that fifty of them had put down the ball before the *charge of powder*. Some of them did not even know how to lay a gun over their shoulders." A merchant would not intrust, as his book-keeper, a clerk who put the wrong end of his pen into an ink-standish; or who was ignorant of the difference between addition and subtraction. Yet such a novice would be just as fit for the desk, as these militia were for the camp. When you take up the subject in this point of view, when you reflect on the folly of conducting troops like these into actual service, your mind must feel a sudden oppression under the burst of astonishment. There could be no use in sending such people to reduce an insurrection. It was the most unmilitary management conceivable. If fighting was wanted, these raw recruits were useless. If the country beyond the mountains was peaceable, their multitude would only make them insolent and mischievous. A small part of their own number

* A journeyman printer from the office of the Philadelphia Gazette, went out upon his first essay, as a private. He was one of the select corps left in the western country, and returned next spring with the rank of Lieutenant or Captain. *Ex pede Herculem.*

of French or British veterans would have crushed them like an apple in the cider-press. In his History of the War of seven Years, the King of Prussia gives a lesson on this head. He says that when his armies had been ordered into winter quarters, the recruits for the next campaign were collected as early as possible, because it required three or four months to teach them the exercise. Between the two proclamations of the President, the one for being in readiness, and the second for marching, only seven weeks intervened, and within that time not all the drill-sergeants of Potzdam could have taught them the use of arms. But if Frederic required three or four months to form a soldier, the best officer in the United States would need longer time. Whatever then Congress or the President might think of such a *spectacle*, no reader of sober and impartial understanding will admire that kind of generalship which assembled several thousands of raw lads from the plough and the workshop, and dispatched them three hundred miles in quest of an enemy.

Put the case, that out of these troops one third were real soldiers, who had seen service, and acquired military feelings. The other ten thousand who put in the ball before the charge, or who committed acts of equivalent ignorance, were a mere burden on the professional men. The latter would have been more formidable without them. These matters are so very clear, that it is almost a shame to repeat them. Yet if the Government of a country chooses to commit its character by such proceedings, the public have a right to review them.

We shall be safe in computing that the supernumeraries of the excise army cost six hundred thousand dollars of extra and useless expense. Five thousand good soldiers, if the camp contained as many, would have been quite equal to the business. Suppose that the remaining ten thousand were absent from their

common employments for ninety working days. At the common and moderate computation of a dollar per day, the loss of labour by the inlistment of these ten thousand hands, comes to nine hundred thousand dollars. Add this to, perhaps, six hundred thousand dollars, of money advanced from the Treasury, for the expense of the march of supernumeraries, the two sums make together - - 1,500,000 dol.

Interest for three years, from November 1st, 1794, to November 1st, 1797, at 30 per cent. per annum, 1,350,000

Total, 2,850,000

For the last three years, or thereabouts, two and an half per cent. per month has been a common rate of interest among many of our merchants. It has often been at five per cent. The above estimate of thirty per cent. a year falls by far short of the lowest of these two rates, as the monthly compound interest is kept out of sight. Here we see that the insurrection was suppressed at an enormously greater expense than was necessary. A general alarm was raised in behalf of the Constitution, an alarm very laudable, if it had been exactly founded on facts. Before the citizens of the United States rush upon the extirpation of a second insurrection, they will do well to be sure of its existence.

A case has been imagined, in a former page, of a President, during the recess of Congress, hastening the country into a civil war. It is possible that his conduct might merit impeachment; and for this, or other offences, the Constitution has reserved a remedy. He is to be tried by the Senate, and the Chief Justice shall preside. He cannot be convicted unless by the concurrence of two thirds of the members present. The latter clause is equitable; for candour will presume that a President acts for the best; and it

it would be iniquitous to condemn him by the casting vote of a Senator, who, in the eye of law, and most likely of reason, is not a better man than himself. But a serious objection lies against the tribunal before which he is to be tried. One of the most likely cases of an impeachment would regard foreign treaties, because in these there would be the greatest risk of corruption, and of consequent treachery. Here the Constitution leaves us, like a whale on the strand; for the President cannot act without the advice and consent of the Senate; and if he and two thirds of them should think fit to sell America, she has only to submit to the purchaser. Even in the event of domestic mismanagement, as little can be hoped from the vigilance or virtue of the *upper* House. They have already broached a doctrine the wildest and most criminal that has probably been ever heard of in a legislative assembly; and General Mason did only one half of his duty to the country, when he forbore to publish that ingulfing tenet. There is no assurance, nor, indeed, much probability, that any future Senate will possess more information, or integrity, or independence, than the members now in office. A President has always in his gift a variety of appointments, sufficient to secure a majority of two thirds. This tribunal, then, for the purpose of his impeachment, is entirely useless.

The prospect of justice would not be much improved by a transference to the House of Representatives. Perhaps the safest and fairest way of prosecuting the Chief Magistrate might be to name delegates from each of the States, in the numbers and proportions that should be found advisable. Such persons only ought to be eligible as have never held an office of profit under the General Government, and who shall, by acceptance of this trust, be rendered incapable to exercise any such office for a certain term of years to come. These remarks apply

to no particular sect of politicians. They point at an evident and immense gap in the Constitution; for, under the present form, it is plain that the trial of a President could be nothing but a farce.

Seven letters under the signature of Manlius, appeared some time ago in the *Columbian Centinel*. The first of them is dated the 3d, and the last on the 17th of September, 1794. They consist of furious invective against the republican party. In No. III. the writer complains, that Mr. Dexter, noted “for solidity of judgment, strength and perspicuity of reasoning, elegance and accuracy of style, in an anarchical Gazette of Philadelphia, is made to talk like a schoolboy.” If Manlius wanted to mock Mr. Dexter, his attempt is successful. If he wanted the public to believe his panegyric, he betrays his own want of judgment or veracity. No person has, for the last four years, ever so intolerably tired the patience of Congress, as Mr. Dexter, if we except Robert Harper; and even the latter is greatly superior to the former. He has ingenuity, information, and an easy delivery, if he could only know when to stop. In the session of November, 1796, he made two very interesting speeches; the one for the widow of John de Neuville, and the other for the inhabitants of Savannah.

Of democratic societies, Manlius, No. I. speaks thus: “They have opposed their *veto* to the doings of the President, to the laws of the Union, and to the will of the whole people.” (*Veto* is a word borrowed from the tribunes of ancient Rome. By pronouncing it, they prevented the enacting of a law. The societies never made even a motion in any legislature whatever, nor have they endeavoured to obstruct the execution of any law. If they had done so, they would have been apprehended, and the dispute would have been decided in a Court of Justice. They did nothing more than publish their opinions.

They

They were warranted to do so by the Constitution, which declares, that "Congress shall make no law
 " abridging *the freedom of speech* or of *the press*." If they went too far, the Attorney-general could stop them.) "They have arraigned," says Manlius, "the
 " conduct of the most wise and virtuous Citizen now
 " on earth: they have declared that this beloved
 " first magistrate hath trampled on the Constitu-
 " tion." (There never was a chief magistrate in the world who escaped without arraignment. We might as well attempt to keep mankind from coughing or sneezing, as expect that any government can give universal satisfaction. The democratic societies only did what occurs in every assembly of the human race. They censured their Government, and so do the slaves of Dahomey and Morocco.) "They have
 " excited opposition to the laws; and an *armed* re-
 " bellion, probably, in consequence of their false
 " suggestions, is actually raised in the very centre of
 " the United States. Many of our fellow-citizens
 " have been *murdered*, and their dwellings burnt to
 " the ground. They have endeavoured to involve
 " the country in all the distresses of war; while
 " they have opposed the adoption of every measure
 " to prepare for this dreadful calamity."

This extract presents a fair sample of the style of Manlius. His letters have been reprinted in a pamphlet, and enjoy some sort of reputation. The preceding passage is one of those few, wherein we can disrobe him of the mist of declamation, and grasp him on the ground of facts. "*Many of our fellow-citizens have been murdered.*" The papers published by Government speak of no such murders. But previous to the burning of Neville's house, and in a series of three years, about eight persons had been maltreated. On the 6th of September, 1791, Robert Johnson, an excise officer, was tarred and feathered at Pigeon Creek, in Washington county, by a
 Y 2 party

party in disguise. Four other cases of the same nature occurred soon after. One of the sufferers was a lunatic, and another a private person, who had innocently remarked, that when people did not obey Government, they could not look for its protection. It does not appear that any punishment was inflicted on these offenders, and hence the Executive must have expected a continuation of outrages. An office of inspection for Washington county was opened in August, 1792, at the house of Captain William Faulkner. This man was soon after threatened with destruction, unless he turned away the Inspector. He did so, and no personal violence was committed. Disorderly meetings went on, and still the Executive forbore to crush them.

In April, 1793, a party in disguise broke, during the night, into the house of an excise officer in Fayette county. He was from home, but they abused his family. Warrants for apprehending them were delivered to the Sheriff at Fayette. He did not, and probably durst not, execute them. Still Government persisted in its want of energy. If rebellion had been the object of the cabinet of Philadelphia, this was the very way to nurse it. Such apparent lenity was the height of real barbarity. Every new act of blackguardism sanctioned that which was to come next; and every day must have increased the disrespect for social order. It was in a high degree culpable for Government thus tamely to stand by, and permit the flames of brutality and sedition to extend unresisted from one year to another.

On the 23d of November, 1793, a party again visited the house of the Collector of Excise in Fayette county, for whom they had searched in April. He gave up his books and commission. Yet it is owned that about the end of 1793, the law appeared to be gaining ground. The smallest exertion of executive power must have ensured its ultimate success.

Some

Some of the principal recusant distillers began to comply, and others discovered a disposition to do so. One of the former had his barn burnt. The still-house of a second was destroyed; that of a third narrowly escaped the same fate; and his grist and saw mills were damaged. The blame must fall entirely on the timidity or negligence of Administration. "The most *wise* and *virtuous* Citizen now on earth" can gain no more honour by this amazing inattention to his duty than he formerly did by shooting the French officer who advanced with a flag of truce. On the 6th of June, 1794, an act of violence occurred in Washington county. The office of excise was kept in the house of John Lynn, who was tarred and feathered, and tied to a tree. Some days after, part of his house was pulled down. From the first violence committed on Robert Johnston, to the last date, two years and nine months had elapsed. During this long interval, the Executive looked on like the mariner, who sees his vessel springing a leak, but who lets the hold be half filled with water before he tries to stop it. If a thousand well-affected militia had been quartered in the vicinage of the rioters who had assaulted Mr. Johnston, if they had been driven out of the country, or sent to the workhouse, we should have heard nothing of a Western insurrection; or of a waste of public money, of property, and of time, to the value of some millions of dollars. It is well known that a rabble, when unresisted, always proceed from bad to worse, till the violence of the disorder produces a remedy, which is often more dangerous than the disease. The smallest political foresight might have discovered that, first or last, it would be needful to extend the arm of power, and that the sooner this was done so much the better.

This detail of circumstances must, in every candid mind, alleviate the blame of the Western rioters. Their ignorance was much to be pitied, as their bar-

barity was to be detested. They were permitted to advance by gradual and even by annual steps to the brink of destruction. They were then pitched over the precipice with an insolence and ferocity of vengeance that sink the Judge to a level with the criminal. As for Manlius, and his *numerous murders*, they are the offspring of his own calumnious fancy. The insurgents do not seem ever to have shed so much as a single drop of blood, excepting at Neville's house, where three of the defenders were wounded. From the publications of the times, Manlius must have known that his assertion was an untruth. With his eyes open, he circulated this falsehood to promote incendiary and infamous purposes. Such is the patriot who rails at democratic societies.

Of this Western insurrection it has become the mark of a party to speak in strong terms. On April 12th, 1796, Judge Iredell, of the Supreme Court of the United States, referring chiefly to this rupture, delivered a charge to the Grand Jury of Pennsylvania. Some parts of it are open to objection. Describing the superior excellence of the American Constitution, he says that, in other countries, "suspicion has supplied the place of evidence. The highest instances of public virtue have been doomed to the punishment of the highest public offences. Happily for the United States, such scenes have been known to them *only by the history of other nations.*" This is wrong. In the case of Sheriff Hamilton, the most direct evidence was set aside by suspicion. The numerous instances of oppression committed in the West, under the eye, though not by the desire of Judge Peters, prove, that here, as in other countries, Government may oppress with impunity. The Judge then alludes to the suppression of the insurrection, "a period which will form as bright a page as any in the American annals."

This

This brightness must be produced by the particles of lustre flowing from “the army of the Constitution.” Carlisle is only an hundred and seventeen miles west from Philadelphia. When the troops arrived there, they quarrelled among themselves.—They were on the brink of mutual massacre.—“The streets and avenues of Carlisle were occupied by the army, during the night; and an apprehension of the town being burnt, excited a general panic*.” The rational part of the troops could not preserve order; and it was believed, that nothing but the arrival of the President prevented serious mischief†. Messrs. Redick and Finley, deputies from the Western country, ran the risk of being assassinated. As for the insurgents, it was common to swear, that “there was no need of judges or juries. Let them only see the men, and *they would skewer them*‡.” Those of the troops, who alleged that they were merely come in aid of the law, and that they ought not to usurp its functions, were branded with the title of *whiskey men*; and, as such, were the objects of menace and indignation. The President obliged those who had killed the two persons above mentioned §, *to give security for standing their trial!* Some persons, of no mean rank, were mortified at this measure. Some foolish people having, at different times, mixed with the left wing of the army, General Morgan kept his men from killing them, by threatening that he would kill them himself. He took them out of the way, and dismissed them privately. On the march, it was his

* Findley, chap. xii.

† When the army came to Carlisle, the inhabitants shut up their stores. It was not until after a day or two, and some threats, that they could be induced to resume trade. So says Clement Biddle.

‡ Findley, chap. xii.

§ Ibid. supra, chap. vi.

rule to keep his troops on the parade, till he had called on the inhabitants residing near the encampment. He immediately paid them for what had been taken or destroyed *. Yet even this officer did sometimes forget himself. He was guilty of the first breach of peace in the Western country.—James M'Allister “ had charged a quarter of a dollar for a quart of whiskey to a soldier. The General knocked him down with the butt of his whip, and abused him considerably †.” At Fort Cumberland, General Smith, of Baltimore, discharged about fifty disorderly men in one day; he did his utmost, and with considerable success, to enforce discipline. In the camp at Carnaghan's, in Westmoreland, the most experienced officers were afraid that the disorders committed by the army would ruin the country. General Irwin, at some risk, seized two culprits. They were severely punished, and the example had a proper effect. But it was a service of danger. While the sentence was executed, fears were entertained that the regiment to which the offenders belonged, might interpose to rescue them; so that General Chambers, with his brigade, was placed in a situation instantly to charge, in case of mutiny.

When Judge Iredell, Manlius, and other friends of order, indulge themselves in praises of the Western army, in declamations against the insurgents, and in arraignments against the democratic societies, they will do wisely to reflect on the particulars here stated. Such an army was, when taken collectively, as great an object of terror, as the insurrection itself. No democratic society has done any act that approaches to the bacchanalian project

* Findley, chap. xii.

† Brackenridge, chap. vii.

of burning Carlisle. It is affirmed, that the societies wanted to plunge America into a British war. This project did possibly float in the brains of a small number of madmen. That it could be the desire of any considerable part of the members, is untrue.—But even a British war was still less dreadful than a civil one; and if it had not been for some officers of experience, and, above all, for the respect paid to the President, this sanctified Western army would have produced a second rebellion, before attempting to quell the first one. The sober portion of the troops were on the point of being obliged to attack the rioters within their own ranks.

How dreadful must have been the condition of the United States, if Carlisle had actually been destroyed! It is weakness to shrink from the retrospect of this woful probability, or to hold up "*the army of the Constitution*" as a pattern for future ages. From the hurry with which that corps was huddled together, nothing splendid could justly be expected.—Proceeding with Iredell, he tells the Grand Jury, that the insurgents were seduced "by the basest artifices, and "the grossest misrepresentations of a few designing "men; whose views, in all probability, were much "deeper, and more malignant, than they were "*avowed to be.*" The Judge ought to have specified who these *few designing men* are, otherwise he sinks to the same rank with that tribe, who prattle about conspiracies, alike incomprehensible to themselves and every person else.

Again, we hear, that the insurrection was suppressed in a manner "worthy of the Government of "a free people." He should have added, as in the instance of Sheriff Hamilton, of Major Powers, of the deputies of submission menaced with murder, of the expected conflagration of Carlisle, or of the man knocked down for asking the price of a quart of whiskey. To this paper the Grand Jury replied,
that

that the insurrection “ has, however, been attended
 “ with good consequences.—It has offered another
 “ *proof* of the firmness, the wisdom, and benevo-
 “ lence of our much-beloved President.—It has
 “ opened the eyes of a once deluded people.” This
 is the sum total of advantages named by the Jury.—
 They have cost a waste of two or three millions of
 dollars; two or three millions of calumnies in the
 Federal newspapers; and vexation, oppression, and
 ruin, to a great number of people. Eyes have, in-
 deed, been opened; but what have they seen? the
 horrors of military despotism, inflicted by a raw mi-
 litia; the impossibility, in most cases, of obtaining
 redress; the usurpation of both civil and military
 powers, by a Secretary of the Treasury, who had no
 title to interfere with either. The Grand Jury close
 with referring to the “ unexampled prosperity of our
 “ dear and happy country,”—exemplified in the de-
 vastation of commerce, the explosion of credit, the
 contempt of England, and the prospect of hostilities
 with France.

Of the Western army more yet remains to be
 said. Andrew Watson, William H. Beaumont,
 Jeremiah Sturgeon, and George Robinson, resided,
 in 1794, at Pittsburg.—Mr. Brackenridge declares,
 that the town did not contain four less suspected, or
 less offending men. They “ were dragged out of
 “ their beds at two o’clock in the morning; not
 “ suffered to dress themselves, but in an unfinished
 “ manner; obliged to march, some of them with-
 “ out putting on their shoes, which they had to
 “ carry with them in their hands; dragged out of
 “ their beds amidst the cries of children, and the
 “ tears of mothers; treated with language of the
 “ most insulting opprobrium, by those apprehending
 “ them; driven before a troop of horse, at a trot,
 “ through muddy roads, seven miles from Pittsburg;
 “ *impounded*

“ *impounded in a pen, on the wet soil; the guard*
 “ *baying them, and asking them how they would*
 “ *like to be hanged; [what a precious specimen of the*
 “ *Federal army !]* “ *some offering a dollar to have the*
 “ *privilege of shooting at them; carried thence four*
 “ *miles towards the town; obliged to lie all night*
 “ *upon the wet earth, without covering, under a*
 “ *season of fleet, rain, and snow; driven from the*
 “ *fire with bayonets; when some of them, perish-*
 “ *ing, had crawled, endeavouring to be unseen,*
 “ *towards it;”* [this is no better than the history of
 Kirk and his regiment; or of the Scots Presbyterians,
 under Charles the Second;] “ *next day impounded*
 “ *in a waste house, and detained there five days;*
 “ *then removed to a newly built and damp room,*
 “ *without fire, in the garrison at Pittsburg; at the*
 “ *end of ten days brought before the Judiciary, and*
 “ *the information against them found not to be regard-*
 “ *ed!”* [Oh most lame and impotent conclusion !]
 “ *Was this the way to quell an insurrection? Was*
 “ *this the way to make good citizens? Do I blame*
 “ *the Judieiary? No.”* [But every body else will.
 Mr. Brackenridge is a lawyer, and most likely un-
 willing to offend Judge Peters. In the same courts,
 it is a rule to ruin every practitioner who quarrels
 with the Judges. Something of this sort, perhaps,
 prevails at Pittsburg. Judge Peters, when he dis-
 missed these four men, would certainly blush to look
 in their faces. Haul people out of their beds at
 midnight, drag them eleven miles at a trot, bare-
 footed through the mire, impound them for ten
 days in mud before you examine them, and then dis-
 charge them for want of evidence !

“ I’d rather be a dog, and bay the moon,

“ Than such a JUDGE.”

It signifies nothing to rail about Jefferies, or any
 other monsters of juridical prostitution. These feats
 have been acted under our eyes; and you must either
 admire

admire the gentry who achieved them, or you are an enemy to order.] “I blame the management of those concerned to injure them. These were neighbours and friends of mine, and that is the secret of their sufferings*.” A poor apology for the Bench! On the march, Andrew Watson fell sick. The captain of the guard lent his horse to the prisoner. “General Chambers coming up, ordered him to dismount, with opprobrious appellations†.” From such bad treatment, the health of Beaumont and Robinson suffered severely. These details should be universally known; when presidential speeches, charges to grand juries, and the whole mass of Federal pamphlets and newspapers are crowded with the exploits of the army of the Constitution. Nothing can be more terrible to any country than a tumultuous body of soldiers, directed by a revengeful statesman, and sanctioned by an understrapping judge.

To this black narrative let us see what can be compared on the side of democratic societies. Manlius, No. IV. asks if Americans will confide in men, “who inure their arms to the dextrous use of this instrument of death‡; in horrid pomp, by its means, execute the image of one of your first patriots||; in men who have already excited an armed rebellion against the laws of their country; and spread havoc and desolation over the peaceful dwellings of our fellow-citizens; who have already produced treason and *murder*?” And again—“the treasons and *murders* of Pittsburg.” The only blood spilt was, as already said, by the army; and as for havoc and desolation, that committed by the insurgents was but like a grain to the bushel of the

* Brackenridge, vol. ii. chap. x.

† Ibid.

‡ The guillotine.

|| John Jay.

excise heroes. Manlius, in a long note, condescends to enter upon particulars. In May, 1794, the people of Lexington, in Kentucky, burnt in effigy John Jay. And what then? before the burning they guillotined him. The *defence* of Mr. Adams was suspended about his neck, and in his left hand he held "Swift's last speech in Congress, on the subject of British depredation." This childish story formed a triumphant article in some Kentucky newspaper. Manlius cites it at full length, and adds; "These are samples of the doings and the resolutions of the anarchists. *These people are now in arms.*"

On the 26th of November, 1794, Mr. Ames, in a speech to the Representatives, attacked democratic societies. He repeated the above circumstances from Manlius. He added others. The society at Charleston, in South Carolina, had solicited the Jacobin club of Paris to adopt it. This was in October, 1793. The plan, it seems, had come to nothing.— "The club of Pinckney district, in Carolina," says Mr. Ames, "had voted in favour of war, and against paying taxes." He should have recited a copy of the vote; but this, also, ended in smoke.— "Are the resolves of the clubs of this place and New-York forgotten?" subjoined he. "Could outrage and audacity be expected to venture further? One condemned the excise as odious and tyrannical; the other, enforcing that sentiment, published its condemnation of Mr. Jay's mission of peace." Some notice hath already been taken of this speech. As to excise, a committee of the British House of Commons, in one of their reports, declared it to be a system "pernicious to the manners of the people; repugnant to all good government; and which threatens the destruction of that very revenue, which it is its object to secure."

This

This is the style of a British Parliament; an authority quite in point.

There was another fact omitted both by Mr. Ames and Manlius. The former, and his friend Mr. Smith, were burnt in effigy at Charleston (S. C.), for opposing Madison's resolutions. Perhaps this, also, may be ascribed to democratic societies. But all these indecencies put together, do not balance even half a page of Findley or Brackenridge. It signifies nothing to burn one Judge in effigy, compared with the dragging of another to the distance of three hundred and fifty miles from his district, and, without examination, confining him for seventy days in the cells of Philadelphia jail. But let us go back to the Federal army.—It would have been happy for the four Western counties, if the troops had confined themselves to burning of an effigy. When they departed, a select body remained behind. "They were noisy in taverns, late in their patrols through the streets of Pittsburg. The cow of one man, that had but one, was stabbed; the horse of another run through the body*." Some officers quarrelled with a waggoner. "Two or three slices were taken from his skull, and a finger was cut off." An hundred and fifty dollars were paid as a composition to the sufferer. M'Dermot, who gave the wounds, was at the head of a second outrage. After forcing a man, whose wife was sick, to give them entertainment, the company confined him to his chamber, made strokes at him with their swords, threw his bedding on the floor, danced upon it, broke his tables, chairs, and other furniture. The bill of damages was paid, with many imprecations†. Mr. Brackenridge relates other cases of this sort, and makes a general reference to many more. These

* Blackenridge, chap. vii.

† Ibid.

anecdotes should be read and studied by every man who values the lives and properties of American Citizens. Dr. Ames would not sell one of his fingers for an hundred and fifty thousand dollars. Mr. Jay would rather be burnt in effigy, daily, for an hundred years together, than part with the least slice of his skull. To celebrate, without discrimination, the exploits of such an army, is insulting the truth of history. Desperadoes, like M'Dermot, ought to have been turned out of this select corps, with every mark of disgrace. No such step has been heard of ; and hence we may look for similar treatment from the next *constitutional* army.

Among the prisoners Mr. Findley* enumerates Colonel Crawford and son, Mr. Sedgwick, a Justice of the Peace, Mr. Corbly, a Baptist minister, and others. He never could learn that Mr. Sedgwick had done any thing to lay a foundation even for suspicion. These people assert, that they had not the opportunity of signing the terms of the Commissioners, until the appointed day was past. After an imprisonment of *several months*, they were admitted to bail. On their trial no bill was found against any of them*.

In the American Annual Register, chap. x. some observations are made on the correspondent case of George Lucas, another pretended insurgent, such as Mr. Sedgwick and Co. Compare this with what follows. The President, in his speech to Congress, on the 19th of November, 1794, strongly recommends an indemnification to persons in office, who had suffered in *defence* of Government ; such as Neville, whose house was burnt. " The obligation," says he, " and policy of indemnifying them are " strong and obvious. It may also merit attention, " whether policy will not enlarge this provision to " the retribution of other citizens, who, though not

* Findley, chap. xvi.

" under

“ under the ties of office, may have suffered damage
“ by their generous exertions for upholding the con-
“ stitution and the laws. The amount, even if all
“ the injured were included, would not be great ;
“ and, on future emergencies, the Government
“ would be amply repaid by the influence of an
“ example, that he who incurs a loss in its defence,
“ shall find a recompense in its liberality.”

This reads very well. Send your servant on a message, and order him to mount an unruly horse ; he is, in spite of his efforts, thrown off and bruised. You cannot choose but to pay the surgeon's bill. Thus far we go with the President ; for the government of a country proceeds on the same principles with that of a family, only that it covers a more extended scale. Put the case then, that your courier shall, with or without design, ride over a dozen passengers on the road. The surgeon brings in a second account. This also will fall to be paid either by him or you. Equity requires that ultimate compensation should be made by the owner of this horse, who put him into the way of doing the harm.

It demands no depth to see the fairness of this proposition, and the propriety of its application to Justice Sedgwick, to Colonel Crawford, Sergeant Lucas, and Mr. Corbly. In consequence of the President's recommendation, a bill passed to indemnify those who have suffered losses in the service of Government by the insurgents. The same bill should have contained a clause for indemnifying those who had been grossly abused by the Western army, or who had endured unjust imprisonment by the mistake of Government. Humanity, justice, and sound policy, plead as warmly in the latter instance as in the former. The case was even stronger than that of passengers rode down by a horse. The Federal army, that instrument which executed such a misapplication of punishment, was, in part, raised at the expense of

its victims. It was only by their own consent, granted seven years before, that, as it regarded them, the President held his office; for if they had, in 1787, set up an independent Government, it would have been difficult or impossible to hinder them; nor should it be forgotten that the Constitution was reconciled to their choice by considerable management, solicitation, and artifice. The officers of excise, who lost property or were abused personally, had reaped personal emoluments from the Executive. Lucas and Sedgwick had not. They drew only blanks in this lottery; while they were just as well entitled to protection and retribution, as officers of excise, or any other class of citizens; nay, some of them, Sheriff Hamilton, and Major Powers, for example, had been active instruments in suppressing the riots. Their claim to compensation was of the most forcible nature. They got none.

The policy of such a measure is no less evident than its justice. By paying only the sufferers on one side, Congress were placing themselves at the head of a party, and, what is yet worse, of that party who were most in the wrong; for, after the explanation already made, candour will admit, that the outrages perpetrated by the whiskeymen, vanish in a comparison with the barbarities and villanies committed by part of the army, and of its conductors. Now, the government of a party is, in itself, illegal, and, but for the sake of expediency, deserves no attachment. The people to the westward could not help seeing and reprobating such gross partiality against their magistrates, and other fellow-citizens, and in favour of excise officers. Their resentment may, at this time, be held of small consequence; but they are a growing society. In the census of 1791, the four counties were estimated to contain about seventy thousand people. At present they can hardly have fewer than an hundred thousand, and,

as the country is in a rapid progression, twelve years more will double their numbers. In new settlements, the proportion of able-bodied men to the general population is very great *. The two hundred thousand inhabitants of the year 1810, will probably be able to muster forty thousand armed citizens. The mountains that separate their territory from the Atlantic country are equivalent to a second army. The masters of Louisiana and Canada will be ready to furnish them with arms; an assistance equally to be expected from Spain, France, and England. In case of serious provocation, and actual insurrection, the memory of ancient injuries will make the people desperate. Sheriff Hamilton will hardly give himself up, a second time, to a tribunal that he knows, by experience, to be prejudiced and despotic. Instead of striving to crush mischief, he may possibly, at the head of his Mingo Creek regiment, seize a post on the Alleghany, and bid defiance to Congress and excise. Major Powers will not likely become, a second time, an ambassador of obedience, that he may be imprisoned, for eight days, at the point of the bayonet. A revolt like this would far better promote the views of British ambition, than an alliance with the Miamis. On this subject the remark of General Smith was very fair: "Gentlemen say that they hope there will be no more insurrections. I hope so too. But does that *ensure the thing*? I believe not, Sir. Nothing was farther from the thoughts of the House, at last session, than an insurrection †." This short view explains the impolicy of railing at Western people in the mass; a practice so carefully followed by the Federal party. They should likewise reflect upon its injustice.

* See History of Vermont; a State wherein more than a fifth part of the people are enrolled in the militia.

† Debates of Congress, January 9th, 1795.

“ Though outrages had been committed on excise
 “ officers, yet no sheriff nor constable had been
 “ opposed in arresting the offenders. They had been
 “ brought in upon process, and prosecuted at the
 “ court. There was no reason in the distinction ;
 “ but *it was made**.” If the six per cent. orators
 want a second insurrection, their constant yelping is
 the most certain way to raise it. The shortest method
 for making a rascal of any man, is by assuring him
 that you know him to be one.

The sixth article of the Amendments to the Constitution says, that “ no warrants shall issue, but
 “ upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirm-
 “ ation.” In many of the cases already quoted,
 the spirit of this amendment was plainly violated,
 and, in that of Powers, even the letter ; for, after
 being kept so long a prisoner, the Judge discharged
 him without even examination.

The seventh amendment enjoins, that no person
 shall “ be deprived of life, liberty, or property, with-
 “ out *due process of law*.” The stipulation is illusive,
 by the generality of the style ; for the Constitution
 should either have defined what is meant by *due*
process, or it issues in mere words.

The eighth amendment declares, that “ in all cri-
 “ minal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the
 “ right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial
 “ jury, of the state and district wherein the crime
 “ shall have been committed.”

This amendment is, likewise, unsatisfactory ; for
 a *speedy* trial is an indefinite phrase, that may be
 stretched to an intolerable delay. Thus, in the cases
 of the Western people, about six months, or upwards,
 intervened between arrestment and trial. This was
 any thing, surely, but speed. The word *district* lies,
 also, open to objection. The State of Pennsylvania

* Brackenridge, chap. i.

is a district four hundred miles broad. A person dragged to that distance, a whiskey rioter, for example, is completely separated from his connexions, and loses every benefit of trial by jury from the vicinage. The very length of the journey is, in itself, a severe punishment to any man who has business to mind. Suppose that he gets bail, returns home, comes back to Philadelphia, and is acquitted; or, perhaps, the grand jury throws out the bill, so that he does not even stand a trial. His three journeys amount to twelve hundred miles, which, at twenty miles per day, employ sixty days. His expenses in travelling cannot be less than a dollar per day, and his loss of time about as much more. Here is a fine of more than an hundred dollars; and, perhaps, he has not one dollar of his own. This calculation does not include his waste of time in attending the court, and three prefatory months in prison, before he could find bail for his appearance, or, perhaps, before Judge Peters found leisure to examine him. To the poorest man brought from the Western country, the arrestment must, in itself, have been equal to an exaction of three or four hundred dollars. The above three amendments to the Constitution point out no explicit principle to protect him. As for compensation, I suspect that no writer on law has ever so much as suggested a hint of it. The extreme iniquity of this omission has already been explained. Amidst the numerous projects for political reformation, I have never met with an effectual remedy proposed for *arbitrary imprisonment, before trial, on the part of Government* *.

* In the criminal apartment of the jail of Philadelphia, a prisoner is restricted to the diet of the house, that is, to semi-starvation. He is not even allowed to buy food for himself, out of his own pocket. Thus, even *before trial*, he is severely punished by famine. Americans ought not to speak of Algerine savageness, while such enormities exist at home. After trial, there may be good causes for stinting diet.

We have seen a few of the abuses in this way, which occurred during the Western insurrection. While they can be repeated with impunity, it is rash to say much about the rights and liberties of an American citizen. While your Government can apprehend you, make you walk four hundred miles on foot, and thereafter lie three months in jail, before examination, it is childish, it is even impertinent, to raise a racket about the superior public virtue of American citizens, or the superior purity of the Federal Constitution. If the former had shone with peculiar splendour, it is likely that a certain Judge would, long since, have been impeached, fined, and dismissed. If the latter had been as excellent as it is said to be, it would have held out a warning sufficient to deter him.

END OF THE WESTERN INSURRECTION.

DISPUTE

BETWEEN

AMERICA AND GREAT BRITAIN.

IN the *Summary View* I purposely omitted all mention of this Dispute, in order to bring the history of it under one head in this place.

When France had effected a separation between the mother-country and her colonies, she used all her efforts to engross the trade of those colonies. It was easily perceived that the moment the war was over, the Americans, one half of whom never wished for a separation, would return to their former commercial connexions with their friends in England, who alone had the commodities they wanted, and who alone were able to give them the credit of which they stood in need. To prevent the renewal of this intercourse and the restoration of friendship, which would inevitably accompany it, France exhausted all the resources of her intrigue and corruption. She passed laws calculated to draw the Americans to her territory, and to induce them to use no manufactures but hers. JEFFERSON, a man who was deeply indebted to the English merchants, and who hated England because he had injured her, was, after the conclusion of the peace in 1783, appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to France, where he resided till after the new Federal Government was formed and put in motion in 1789.

This man was totally devoted to the court of France, and the whole time of his embassy was taken up in contriving, with that court, the means of turning the channel of the American trade from England to France. The various arts that were made use of for this purpose, together with the strong desire which Washington had to second, not the intrigues of France, but the disposition to prevent a too immediate and too friendly intercourse with England, produced a considerable effect. Attempts were made to open an intercourse with France, such as had hitherto been carried on with England; new correspondences, houses, partnerships, and companies, were formed, and French frippery flowed in with every tide. But the *people* did not participate in the feelings and the motives of JEFFERSON, and some others of the leading Whigs. The people still liked a shirt to their ruffle; they still liked the plain, neat, solid, and durable manufactures of England. Besides, *fashion* did much against France. London still gave the fashion to America; for though now and then an ape affected to imitate the French, and though such an imitation was strongly recommended in the newspapers (all devoted to the enemies of England), yet whenever the precept was attempted to be reduced to practice, it failed not to excite ridicule and contempt. Habit and natural affection were too powerful for political prejudices, though aided by the intrigues of France and her partisans, and by the strenuous and continual efforts of a press the most partial that ever was known in the world. The frippery imported from France, her tinsel, her gewgaws, her endless variety of materials for equipping the shabby genteel, remained unsold in the shops of those Whigs who were foolish enough to mix politics with trade; while all the traders who had acted honestly towards their English creditors, and who had resumed their intercourse with them, found more customers than they

they had goods to supply. These men too could obtain a *long credit*; whereas those who dealt with France could obtain hardly any. The French was a mere *forced* trade, an effort against nature. In about three years after it began, it sunk for ever, dragging down along with it all those, both in France and America, who had embarked in it to any extent.

This was a cruel mortification to the Whigs, who now endeavoured to persuade the people that manufactories might be established in the United States. A thousand absurd projects were broached. General Washington appeared, at the opening of the first Federal Congress, in a suit of clothes, *entirely of American manufacture*; but every farmer of sense knew that the suit cost as much as a middling farm would sell for. In fact, this suit of the General's, like many other of his tricks, was well enough calculated to amuse the ignorant part of the people, and to persuade them that America could exist totally independent of England; but he well knew that the United States could not be a manufacturing nation, and that it was their interest that they should not be so.

The partisans of France, seeing themselves baffled in all their projects of supplanting the trade of England by any thing short of a *law*, which should impose heavier duties on the goods of England than on those of France, had recourse to that measure during the first session of the first Federal Congress. They failed. "No," said the majority, "let all nations have a fair chance; let the duties on the goods of all of them be the same, and then our farmers will have their choice, and will purchase at the best market." The motion for a discrimination in favour of France was brought forward by MADISON, who was the mere tool of JEFFERSON, FRANKLIN, and VERGENNES. The connexion between these men, as well as the whole of their intrigues, were
now

now known; and, at the epocha of which I am now speaking, every good man in America, even amongst the Whigs, who was acquainted therewith, hated France more than he ever had hated England. See DOCTOR MORSE'S *Exposure of French Intrigue*, vol. x. p. 230, and read it with great attention.

I now come to the years 1793-4, when the enthusiasm, with which the creation of the French Republic had inspired the people of America, emboldened the Gallic faction, which had been constantly cherished and greatly strengthened by the several French ministers, to bring forward, once more, their project of *commercial discrimination*, by which they now hoped not only to injure the trade of Great Britain, but to provoke her to declare war against America. JEFFERSON, the leader of the faction, was not only present now, and ready to assist in person, but he was *Secretary of State*, an office that gave him great influence in all affairs relative to foreign nations. As a prelude to the proposal of commercial discrimination, he made a Report on the subject of commerce, which was laid before Congress in the autumn of 1793. I shall here give some remarks on this Report, in the words of Mr. WILLIAM SMITH, now Minister Plenipotentiary in Portugal.

“ It was obvious to those that examined it, that the whole object and tendency of the Report went to swell the catalogue of supposed injuries, arising from the commercial regulations of Britain, and to diminish those of France, Spain, and Portugal, particularly the former, by overlooking important discriminations in our favour on the part of Britain, and exhibiting her unfavourable discriminations in the most prominent colours; while, on the other hand, the disadvantageous restrictions of the other nations were grouped in the back ground, and trifling preferences brought forward and swelled into immense benefits.

“ So

“ So eager was the Secretary in the pursuit of his favourite object, viz. to entangle the United States into altercations with England, which could only issue in war, that he not only advanced in support of his commercial propositions, theories directly the reverse of those he had elaborately inculcated in his Notes on Virginia, but he even flatly *contradicted* in one page a *maxim* of government which he had emphatically laid down no farther back than in the *preceding* page, and stated, with confidence, a *commercial fact* of no inconsiderable importance, which he was obliged to *contradict* in his supplementary Report.

“ Notwithstanding his explicit condemnation of a system of domestic manufactures for the United States, in the year 1782, yet in his commercial Report, in 1793, when precisely the same causes existed, we find a strong recommendation of measures calculated to compel the United States to depend for supply on *domestic manufactures*, there being no other nation, *at that time*, capable of furnishing them but Great Britain, whose manufactures were to have been interdicted.

“ In the Report, page 17, he recommends the burdening with duties, or excluding, such *foreign manufactures* as we take in *greatest quantity*, and which, at the same time, we could the soonest furnish to ourselves, or obtain from other countries, imposing on them duties, lighter at first, but heavier and heavier afterwards, as other channels of supply open. He adds, ‘ Such duties, having the effect of *indirect encouragement to domestic manufactures* of the same kind, ‘ may induce the manufacturer to come himself into these ‘ States; and here it would be in the power of the ‘ State Governments to co-operate essentially, by ‘ opening the resources of encouragement, which are ‘ under their control, extending them *liberally* to *artists* in those particular branches of manufactures for ‘ which their soil, climate, population, and other cir-
‘ cumstances,

‘ circumstances, have matured them, and *fostering* the
 ‘ PRECIOUS efforts and progress of *household manufac-*
 ‘ *ture* by some patronage suited to the nature of its
 ‘ objects, guided by the local information they possess,
 ‘ and guarded against abuse by their presence and at-
 ‘ tention. The oppressions on our agriculture in fo-
 ‘ reign ports would thus be made the occasion of re-
 ‘ lieving it from a dependance on the councils and
 ‘ conduct of others, and PROMOTING ARTS, MANU-
 ‘ FACTURES, AND POPULATION AT HOME.’

“ The glaring contradiction which these recited passages exhibit, furnishes scope for several remarks. In the first place, he has evidently overlooked or forgotten in the *commercial Report*, all the *injury* which, in his *Notes*, he had declared to flow from the introduction of domestic *manufactures* into the United States ; and this is not all ; in his *Notes*, p. 93, ‘ he
 ‘ *deprecates* the importation of *foreigners* into the
 ‘ United States, because, coming principally from
 ‘ *monarchical* countries, they will either bring their
 ‘ *pernicious maxims*, or, if they throw them off, it will
 ‘ be in exchange for an *unbounded licentiousness*, pass-
 ‘ ing, *as is usual*,’ says he, ‘ from *one extreme to another*.’ And yet, in his *Report*, he strongly recommends measures calculated to produce the effect of introducing a *mass of foreigners* from that *monarchical* country, Britain, and the very *worst kind* of foreigners, in his estimation, *manufacturers*, a class of people, the proportion of *which* in society, says he, furnishes a *barometer* whereby to measure its *degree of CORRUPTION* *.

“ When he wrote his *Notes*; this country being at

* Mr. *Madison*, in his speech in support of the Secretary’s Report, makes this observation, speaking of the British manufacturers : “ Here are *three hundred thousand* souls who live by our custom : let them be driven to poverty and despair by acts of their own Government, and what would be the consequence ? most probably an *acquisition of so many useful citizens to the United States*.” Precious *have* !

war with Great Britain, no stimulus was necessary to inflame our citizens; sufficient causes then existed, and *then* ‘*manufactures* were the *source* of *corruption*, then *foreigners* were the *source* of *licentiousness*.’ But when he wrote his *Report*, a quarrel with Great Britain was a *desirable thing*; then it was necessary to inflame the Legislature of the United States, *then* it was proper that foreign manufactures should be interdicted, that the United States should *manufacture for themselves*, and, not content with their own workmen, *encourage* the *importation* of *manufacturers* from foreign countries, although they were expected to bring with them *monarchical habits* or an *unbounded licentiousness*!!—Such are the *inconsistencies* in which *they* involve themselves, who, deviating from the line of political *truth*, pursue speculations calculated merely to answer party purposes of the moment.

“In the *Report*, p. 19, he says, ‘IT IS NOT TO THE MODERATION AND JUSTICE OF OTHERS WE ARE TO TRUST for fair and equal access to market, with our productions, or for the due share in the transportation of them, but to our own means of independence, and the firm will to use them.’ Having stated this *broad* and *unqualified* principle, he goes on to recommend *discriminations* and *restrictions* in respect to *our commerce with Great Britain*.

But, in the very next page, after asserting that *France* was willing to make a *liberal-treaty* with us, and that *Great Britain* was not, he proceeds in these words: ‘We have no reason to conclude that friendly arrangements would be declined by the *other nations*, with whom we have such commercial intercourse as may render them important. In the mean while, it would rest with the wisdom of the Congress to determine whether, as to *those* nations, they will not *surcease ex parte regulations*, on the REASONABLE PRESUMPTION that *they* will concur in doing *whatever* JUSTICE AND MODERATION DICTATE SHOULD BE DONE.’

Here

“ Here we find, in page 19, a *general* principle laid down, that we are *not* to trust to the *moderation* and *justice* of *other* nations, but to *our own means*, and the firm will to *use* them. But, in page 20, it is suggested to Congress to *surcease* our regulations, to forbear *using* our means, as to *Spain and Portugal* (the nations contemplated), on the *reasonable presumption* that *they* will do whatever MODERATION and JUSTICE shall dictate.

“ A more palpable contradiction was perhaps never detected in any work.

“ That the Secretary, in his ardent zeal for discriminations and restrictions, as applied to Great Britain, should, in the first sketch of his Report, lay down *one maxim*, which would serve as a good *introduction* to his *plan of hostility* against that nation, and that he should lay down *another*, the very *reverse* of it, when it was necessary to *confine* these restrictions altogether to her, and to exempt Spain and Portugal, is not so extraordinary; but that, on a reperusal of his Report, a work of near three years, he should have overlooked this glaring contradiction, that some confidential friend should not have noticed it in manuscript, and obliged him to twist the passages into some plausible consistency, is altogether a subject of astonishment.

“ The progress of things has discovered, however, that the Secretary was entirely *deceived* in his *reasonable presumption*; for *Spain and Portugal* have both actually declined entering into friendly arrangements with us, and doing whatever justice and moderation, in our opinion, dictate should be done. Though we have lately formed a treaty of boundary and amity with Spain, she positively declined entering into a commercial treaty with us. *Portugal* has also manifested an unwillingness to meet us on that ground, though we have had a Minister there with that view for five years.

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“ As much mistaken was the Secretary in declaring that Great Britain was on so good a commercial footing with us, in fact, that she would not be disposed to meddle with it by entering into a treaty; for, soon after *he* quitted the office of Secretary of State, a commercial treaty was concluded with that nation, which, I shall hereafter show, has removed every ground of *complaint*, and secured to us all the *advantages* suggested in *his Report*, notwithstanding he afterwards concurred with his friends in reprobating that very treaty as an abandonment of all our commercial rights.

“ Another error was committed by the Secretary, in declaring that *France* was ready to enter into a new commercial treaty on *fair and equal* principles; for it was soon after discovered by the publication of *Genet's instructions*, that *our becoming* A PARTY IN THE WAR was to be the PRICE of the proposed treaty.

“ It has been also alleged by us, that Mr. Jefferson had stated a *commercial fact* in his *Report*, which he was obliged to *retract* in a *Supplementary Report*.

“ In page 12 of the *Report*, he states, that *Great Britain* admits into her *islands* our productions, by A PROCLAMATION OF HER EXECUTIVE, *limited* ALWAYS to the term of A YEAR, but hitherto renewed from year to year: he had previously remarked, in page 9, on the great *disadvantage* of a *tenure* which might be so *suddenly* discontinued, and had adverted to the apprehensions of our merchants on a late occasion, when the fear of a sudden discontinuance of our intercourse with Great Britain, in reference to another subject, had produced very disagreeable effects; but in his *Supplementary Report*, *called for by the House*, we find the following contradiction of the above fact, page 9. ‘ The Secretary takes this
 ‘ occasion to note an act of the British Parliament,
 ‘ of 28 Geo. 3, c. 6, which, though passed BEFORE
 ‘ the epoch to which his *Report* aforesaid related, had
 ‘ escaped

‘ *escaped his researches*. The effect of it was to convert the Proclamations regulating our direct intercourse with their West India islands into a **STANDING LAW**, and *so far to remove the unfavourable distinction* between us and foreign nations, *stated in the Report.*’

“ It is somewhat surprising that this *act* should have *escaped his researches* for near three years ; if he had had any intimation of *its existence*, he was highly censurable in having stated in his Report that this intercourse was regulated by *Proclamations* of the King, limited *always* to the term of a year. How could he be justified in stating so positively *an unfavourable distinction*, when an application to any merchant of information would have ascertained the fact ? Why pointedly remark, that while the commerce of other nations was secured by standing laws which could not be altered but by the concurrent will of the three branches of the British Government, *our commerce was excluded* from the security of fixed laws, and depended, *altogether*, on the single will of a monarch ? The object manifestly was to make an impression unfriendly to Great Britain, by stating a fact of the truth of which he must at the time have had *doubts*, which would have been removed, had he, during the space of three years, employed one hundredth part of the pains to ascertain it, which he employed in researches after every fact and circumstance which could swell the catalogue of commercial grievances and complaints against that nation. From the disposition exhibited by the Secretary through the whole of his Report, to make the most unfavourable impressions in respect to Great Britain, we have a right to infer that the recantation of the fact, so positively stated, would not have appeared in the Supplementary Report, had not a knowledge of the investigation which the subject was to undergo, and a suggestion of the *known* existence of
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the *act* in question, dictated the expediency of giving an air of *candour* to that which was the result of a *necessary* policy.

“ Many other specimens might be furnished of the *partial complexion* of Mr. Jefferson’s commercial Report : a few of them, in addition to the facts already stated, will more than suffice to show that the *gratification* of certain *anti-national prejudices* was more an object with that work than the *promotion* of our *national prosperity*.

“ The first circumstance which strikes us, in reading the introductory letter to the Speaker of the Representatives on transmitting the Report, is the bringing up the Report only to the time when things, as the Report says, were in their *settled order*, that is, the summer of 1792 (when the *monarchy* of France *terminated*) ; and yet, in the same letter, informing the Representatives that France had proposed to enter into a *new* treaty of commerce with the United States on *liberal* terms, and had, in the mean time, *relaxed* some of her commercial restraints ; *all of which facts were* SUBSEQUENT to the period at which he had CLOSED his Report.

“ Now, as he had fixed upon a certain period, at which it was proper to close his Report for the reason he had assigned, namely, because it was impossible to describe all the changes which the *war* had occasioned, and because the Report was properly adapted to a time when things were in their *settled order*, he certainly ought not to have introduced the commercial measures of France *subsequent* to that period ; or, if he did, he ought likewise to have stated all the changes which had subsequently taken place in the measures of the other nations ; he ought also to have stated, that since that period *France* had *broke* her *existing* treaty with us ; instead of which he remarks, that to have endeavoured to have *described* *all these changes* would have been as *endless* as *useless*,

since the scenes would have been shifting while under description. He must have well known that the LIBERAL treaty proposed by France required that we should become a PARTY IN THE WAR, and that *this proposal* of a new treaty *arose* altogether out of the THEN EXISTING WAR, and was therefore no more a circumstance connected with the *settled order of things*, than any other *war measure* of the other belligerent powers.

“ Here, in the very introduction of his Report, he *departs* altogether from the plan laid down, on purpose to impress Congress with a belief that France was disposed to make a liberal treaty with us, when *he* knew (what Genet’s published *instructions* soon after told us) that the *sine qua non* of this *liberal* treaty was OUR ENGAGING IN THE WAR.

“ In specifying the duties imposed on our productions *by Great Britain*, the Report stated that *our tobacco*, for their consumption, paid 1s. 3d. sterling the pound, custom and excise, *besides heavy expenses of collection*; but he neglected to state what he must have known, that if our tobacco paid 1s. 3d. the tobacco of *all other* countries paid nearly *treble* that sum, 3s. 6d. He was directed ‘to report to Congress the nature and extent of the *privileges* and restrictions of our commercial intercourse with other nations;’ yet, in relation to a very *important* article of export, he states the 1s. 3d. duty imposed on our production, and omits a duty nearly *treble* that sum imposed on a *similar* production of all other countries, although the very book of rates which furnished him with the one fact must have exhibited the other close by its side.

“ This *suppression* was attempted to be justified, by alleging that the higher duty on the tobacco of other nations was not worth noticing, because Great Britain imported no tobacco from any other country than the United States. Then the duty of 1s. 3d. on
our

our tobacco could work no injury to us; then it was improper, in the Secretary, to notice the *heavy expenses of collection*, because there being *no competition* of foreign tobacco, these heavy expenses, as well as the duty, must fall upon the British consumer. If there was no tobacco but that of the United States consumed in Great Britain, in that case the duties would not injure us, but the consumer; if, on the contrary, there was a competition of the tobacco of other countries with ours, then the preference given to ours by the discrimination of duties was sufficiently important to be particularly noticed.

“ Besides, being directed to *state facts*, it was his duty to have stated *this fact*, so *closely connected with that* which he had *stated*, and left it to Congress to make the proper inferences. This omission is the more extraordinary, as in some other parts of the Report, where he states a commercial regulation of Great Britain, which is favourable to this country, he endeavours to *detract* from it by some qualification; thus, after mentioning an advantageous distinction in favour of our bar-iron, he immediately adds, ‘ of which article, *however*, we do not produce enough for our own use* ;’ a circumstance well known to every one, and very unnecessarily introduced. Thus, again, after having stated that our exports to Great Britain and her dominions were *twice as great* as to France and her dominions, he takes care to *qualify* this advantage, by endeavouring to prove that the greater part of what the former received from us was re-exported to other countries.

“ With this disposition thus to *qualify* and *disparage* every advantage, would it not have been but candid to qualify also the disadvantages; and, in

* We have, notwithstanding, exported it to other countries: in the year 1790, our export of iron to Great Britain amounted to upwards of 80,000 dolls.

stating the duty of 1s. 3d. on our tobacco, to have added, But there is nearly a treble duty on the tobacco of all other countries?

“ In stating the restrictions on our navigation in Great Britain, he notices the duty of 1s. 9d. per ton, which our vessels pay for light and Trinity dues, more than is paid by British ships, except in the port of London; but he omits the following material circumstances: 1st, That the extra duty which a British ship pays in our ports more than an American ship, is greater than the extra duty which an American ship pays in the British ports more than a British ship. 2dly, That our ships are upon a better footing in the ports of Great Britain than those of any other nation; for while they pay upon the carriage of several of their productions alien duties, our ships are exempt from them.

“ In the 17th page he says, ‘ Where a nation imposes high duties on our productions, or prohibits them altogether, it may be proper to do the same by theirs, first burdening or excluding those productions which they bring here in competition with our own of the same kind, selecting next *such manufactures* as we take from them in *greatest quantity*, and which at the same time we could the soonest furnish to ourselves, or *obtain from other countries*, imposing on them duties lighter at first, but *heavier and heavier afterwards*, as other channels of supply open.’ He had previously stated, that Great Britain did impose high duties on some of our productions, and prohibited others altogether: he afterwards stated, that Great Britain was unwilling to enter into any friendly arrangements with us. The *propositions*, introduced by Mr. Madison, of which Citizen *Fauchet* says Mr. Jefferson was the real author, and which were, in fact, a commentary on the Report, were *directly aimed* at the manufactures of *Great Britain*.

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“Had it been true, that Great Britain had burdened *our* productions in the manner stated in the Report, we should have been warranted by *justice*, and the principles of *self-protection*, in reciprocating burdens on *their* manufactures, and we should have been warranted by *policy* also, could we have found a *substitute* for *them*. But inasmuch as the commercial system of Great Britain, so far from exhibiting those *hideous features* which the Report had portrayed, was found, on examination, to be at least as friendly to us as that of any other country, the measure was condemned by *justice*; and, inasmuch as we could, at that time, find *no* possible *substitute* for the British manufactures, it was also condemned by *policy*.

“There could be only three sources of supply to this country, of the manufactures annually consumed—the United States, Great Britain, and France. The United States manufacture but little. Manufactures cannot thrive to any extent in a country like this. Mr. Jefferson, in *deprecating* their existence among us, gives himself sufficient reasons, in his Notes on Virginia, why they cannot prosper. Experience has sanctioned his doctrine. The cloth manufacture in Connecticut, the cotton manufacture at Patterson, notwithstanding the auspicious patronage under which the latter has been fostered, and various other attempts, have all failed; and this will universally be the case, until, as Mr. Jefferson observes, men get piled up in large cities throughout America. But, while land is in such plenty, and workmen so scarce, and of course so dear, in vain shall Government, unwisely, heap duty upon duty, and burden upon burden, on *foreign* manufactures: we shall still, for years to come, be *obliged* to resort to *them*. Of what avail have been all the protecting duties on cottons, on hardware, &c. &c.? Do we find them imported in less quantities? Let every reader look at his own dress, and at the furniture and implements

with which he is surrounded, and then pronounce what portion of them is derived from domestic resources.

“ Mr. Jefferson had stated in the Report, that even of the rough material of *bar-iron*, we do not make enough for our own consumption. He had also stated, that while the manufactures we imported from *France* and her dominions amounted to only 2,068,348 dollars, those from Great Britain and her dominions amounted to 15,285,428 dollars.

“ Notwithstanding this disproportion, he proposes, that we shall burden or exclude those manufactures *which we take in greatest quantity*, and which, at the same time, we could the soonest furnish to ourselves, or *obtain from other countries*, imposing duties heavier and heavier, as *other channels of supply open*: that is, to burden or exclude manufactures to the amount of fifteen millions of dollars, which we imported from Great Britain, and to trust to *domestic supply*, or a supply from *some other country*. He knew very well that we could expect *no* material substitute from domestic supply: indeed *his principles* in relation to domestic manufacture, were even *hostile* to such a substitute; for he had strongly *deprecat*ed the establishment of manufactures in the United States.

“ It is evident then, that, under the *hypocritical cloak* of friendship for domestic manufactures, with the artful design of inlisting on his side all the artists of America, and all the patrons of domestic manufacture, his *real* object was, to *promote and foster* the *languishing* manufactures of France, by an exclusion of those of Great Britain, *at the expense of the United States*. If the manufactures of Great Britain had been excluded, according to the Secretary's plan, having evidently no resource at home, where were the importing merchants to look for supply for their customers? *To France alone.*”

Such was the Report of JEFFERSON; such was its object,

object, and such was the light in which it was viewed by those members of Congress who were not devoted to France. Nevertheless, MADISON revived his project of *commercial discrimination*, and, on the 3d of January, 1794, proposed the following resolutions:—

Resolved, as the opinion of this Committee, that the interest of the United States would be promoted by further restrictions and higher duties, in certain cases, on the manufactures and navigation of foreign nations, employed in the commerce of the United States, than those now imposed.

1. *Resolved*, as the opinion of this Committee, that an additional duty ought to be laid on the following articles, manufactured by *European nations, having no commercial treaty with the United States* :

On all articles, of which leather is the material of chief value, an additional duty of per centum ad valorem.

On all manufactured iron, steel, tin, pewter, copper, brass, or articles of which either of these metals is the material of chief value, an additional duty of per centum ad valorem.

On all articles of which cotton is the material of chief value, an additional duty of per centum ad valorem.

On all cloths, of which wool is the material of chief value, where the estimated value on which the duty payable is above
an additional duty of per centum ad valorem ;
where such value is below an additional duty of
per centum ad valorem.

On all cloths, of which hemp or flax is the material of chief value, and of which the estimated value on which the duty is payable is below an additional duty of per centum ad valorem.

On all manufactures of which silk is the material of chief value, an additional duty of per centum ad valorem.

2. *Resolved*, as the opinion of this Committee, that an additional duty of per ton ought to be laid on the vessels belonging to *nations having no commercial treaty with the United States*.

3. *Resolved*, as the opinion of this Committee, that the duty on vessels belonging to *nations having commercial treaties with the United States* ought to be reduced to per ton.

4. *Resolved*, as the opinion of this Committee, that where any nation may refuse to consider as vessels of the United States, any vessels not built within the United States, the foreign-built vessels of such nation ought to be subjected to a like refusal, unless built within the United States.

5. *Resolved*, as the opinion of this Committee, that where any nation may refuse to admit the produce or manufactures of the United States, unless in vessels belonging to the United States, or to admit them in vessels of the United States, if last imported from any place not within the United States, a like restriction ought, after

after the day of to be extended to the produce and manufactures of such nation, and that, in the mean time, a duty of per ton extraordinary ought to be imposed on vessels so importing any such produce or manufacture.

6. *Resolved*, as the opinion of this Committee, that where any nation may refuse to the vessels of the United States a carriage of the produce or manufactures thereof, whilst such produce or manufactures are admitted by it in its own vessels, it would be just to make the restriction reciprocal: but inasmuch as such a measure, if suddenly adopted, might be particularly distressing in cases which merit the benevolent attention of the United States, it is expedient, for the present, that a tonnage extraordinary only of be imposed on the vessels so employed: and that all distilled spirits imported therein shall be subjected to an additional duty of one part of the existing duty.

7. *Resolved*, as the opinion of this Committee, that provision ought to be made for liquidating and ascertaining the losses sustained by citizens of the United States, from the operation of particular regulations of any country contravening the law of nations, and that such losses be reimbursed, in the first instance, out of the additional duties on the manufactures, productions, and vessels of the nation establishing such unlawful regulations.

Of these resolutions, which were finally negatived, I shall only observe, that the French Minister *Fauchet*, in his famous dispatch (see vol. i. p. 279), informed the Directory, that *Jefferson* was the *real* author of them, though they were brought forward by Madison.

Events, however, soon furnished the French faction with a ground for renewing their hostility against Great Britain, and with a greater prospect of success than ever. The reception of GENET by the people of America, his being permitted to fit out privateers, and to man them with Americans; every thing, in short, seemed to forebode a junction of the forces of the United States to those of France; to favour whom the proclamation of neutrality appeared, for a long time, to be merely a cloak. These appearances, though they really misrepresented the views of the Federal Government, were sufficient to justify a rigorous measure of precaution, on the part of the English Government, who, at the close of 1793, issued the following instructions:

“GEORGE R.

“Additional Instructions to the Commanders of all our Ships of War and Privateers, that (L.S.) have or may have Letters of Marque against France. Given at our Court at St. James’s, the 6th day of November 1793, in the thirty-fourth year of our reign.

“That they shall stop and detain all ships laden with goods, the produce of any colony belonging to France, or carrying provisions or other supplies for the use of such colony, and shall bring the same, with their cargoes, to legal adjudication in our Courts of Admiralty.

“By his Majesty’s command,

“HENRY DUNDAS.”

On this order, the *New Annual Register* has the following remark :

“*Why* this order was issued, or why it was revoked, *it is impossible to say*. The politics of Mr. Pitt are entirely of a novel species, and are so contrary to those of all preceding statesmen, *as to baffle every effort of the historian to explain or comprehend them.*”

This ignorant or malicious “*historian*” may now correct his error, or his misrepresentation. This order, and this order alone, put an end to the manning of French privateers in American ports, which, had it continued, would have ruined our West India commerce and our West India islands. Mr. HAMMOND, our Minister at Philadelphia, remonstrated in vain against this breach of neutrality, which nothing but the order of Council, or something equally energetic, could ever have put an end to. Soon after this order of Council was issued, the United States Government began to act, *in earnest*, against those who disobeyed the proclamation of neutrality.

This order reached Philadelphia in the month of March, 1794. It threw the Congress into confusion. Many of those, who had voted against the resolutions

tions of Madison, were now ready to vote for measures much more violent. Town meetings were called, in different parts of the country; their inflammatory resolves were circulated with industry, and read with great, and almost general satisfaction.

Before any decisive step was taken by the Congress, the following order, which was rather a mitigation of that of the 6th of November, was received in America.

“ Instructions to the Commanders of our Ships of

“ War and Privateers, that have or may have Let-

“ ters of Marque against France. Given at our

“ Court at St. James's the 8th of January, 1794.

“ Whereas, by a former instruction to the com-

“ manders of our ships of war and privateers, dated

“ the 6th day of November, 1793, we signified that

“ they should stop and detain all ships laden with

“ goods, the produce of any colony belonging to

“ France, or carrying provisions or other supplies

“ for the use of any such colony, and should bring

“ the same with their cargoes to legal adjudication;

“ we are pleased to revoke the said instructions, and

“ in lieu thereof, have thought fit to issue these our

“ instructions, to be duly observed by the command-

“ ers of all our ships of war and privateers that have

“ or may have letters of marque against France.

“ 1st. That they may bring in, for lawful adjudi-

“ cation, all vessels with their cargoes, that are

“ laden with goods, the produce of the French West

“ India islands, and coming directly from any port

“ of the said islands to any part of Europe.

“ 2d. That they shall bring in, for lawful adjudi-

“ cation, all ships, with their cargoes, that are laden

“ with goods, the produce of the said islands, the

“ property of which goods shall belong to subjects

“ of France, to whatsoever ports they may be

“ bound.

“ 3d. That they shall seize all ships that shall

“ be

“ be found attempting to enter any port of the said
 “ islands that is or shall be blockaded by the arms
 “ of his Majesty or his allies, and shall send them in
 “ with their cargoes for adjudication, according to
 “ the terms of the second article of the former in-
 “ structions, bearing date 8th of June, 1793.

“ 4th. That they shall seize all vessels laden,
 “ wholly or in part, with naval or military stores,
 “ bound to any port of the said islands, and shall
 “ send them into some convenient port belonging to
 “ his Majesty, in order that they, together with
 “ their cargoes, may be proceeded against according
 “ to the rules of the law of nations.

(Signed)

“ H. DUNDAS,”

This order had hardly made its appearance in the American papers, when the following (commonly called Lord Dorchester's talk) came out through the same channel.

Reply of his Excellency Lord DORCHESTER, to the Indians of the seven Villages of Lower Canada, as Deputies from all the Nations who were at the General Council held at the Miami, in the Year 1793, except the Chawauous, Miamis, and Loups.

“ CHILDREN,

“ I have well considered your words, and am
 “ now prepared to reply.

“ CHILDREN,

“ You have informed me that you are deputed
 “ by the seven villages of Lower Canada, and by
 “ all the nations of the Upper Country which sent
 “ deputies to the General Council held at the
 “ Miamis, except the Chawauous, Miamis, and
 “ Loups.

“ CHILDREN,

“ You remind me of what passed at the Council
 “ Fire held at Quebec just before my last departure
 “ for England, when I promised to represent their
 “ situation and wishes to the King their father, and
 “ expressed

“ expressed my hope that all the grievances they
 “ complained of, on the part of the United States,
 “ would soon be done away, by a just and lasting
 “ peace.

“ CHILDREN,

“ I remember all very well; I remember that
 “ they pointed out to me the line of separation
 “ which they wished for between them and the
 “ United States, and with which they would be
 “ satisfied and make peace.

“ CHILDREN,

“ I was in expectation of hearing from the
 “ people of the United States what was required by
 “ them. I hoped I should have been able to bring
 “ you together, and make you friends.

“ CHILDREN,

“ I have waited long, and listened with great
 “ attention; but I have not heard one word from
 “ them.

“ CHILDREN,

“ I flattered myself with the hope that the line,
 “ proposed in the year 1783, to separate us from the
 “ United States, which was immediately broken by
 “ themselves, as soon as the peace was signed,
 “ would have been minded, or a new one drawn in
 “ an amicable manner. Here also I have been dis-
 “ appointed.

“ CHILDREN,

“ Since my return, I find no appearance of a
 “ line remains; and from the manner which the
 “ people of the States push on, and act and talk on
 “ this side, and from what I learn of their conduct
 “ towards the sea, *I shall not be surprised if we are at*
 “ *war with them in the course of the present year; and*
 “ *if we are, a line must then be drawn by the warriors.*

“ CHILDREN,

“ You ask for a passport to go to New-York: a
 “ passport is useless in peace. It appears, therefore,
 “ that

“ that you expect we shall be at war with the States
 “ before your return; you shall have a passport,
 “ that, whether peace or war, you shall be received
 “ by the King’s warriors.

“ CHILDREN,

“ They have destroyed their right of pre-emp-
 “ tion; therefore all their approaches towards us
 “ since that time, and all the purchases made by
 “ them, *I consider as an infringement on the King’s*
 “ *rights*; and when a line is drawn between us, be
 “ it peace or war, they must lose all their improve-
 “ ments and houses on our side of it; the people
 “ must be gone, who do not obtain leave to become
 “ the King’s *subjects*: what belongs to the Indians
 “ will of course be confirmed and secured to them.

“ CHILDREN,

“ What further can I say to you? You are our
 “ witnesses, that on our part we have acted in the
 “ most peaceable manner, *and bore the language of*
 “ *the United States with patience*; and I believe our
 “ patience is almost exhausted.

“ Given under my hand at the Castle of St.

“ Lewis, in the city of Quebec, on the 10th

“ day of February, in the year of our Lord

“ 1794.

(Signed)

“ DORCHESTER.

“ By his Excellency’s command,

(Signed)

“ HEMAN WITSIUS RYLAND,

“ Secretary.”

The blaze, raised by this assemblage of com-
 bustible matter, is not to be described by my pen.—I
 will insert a few articles from the newspapers, which
 will give a better idea of the sentiments of the mass
 of the people, than any thing I can say on the
 subject.

Extract I.—“ Fellow-citizens, the time was when
 “ such outrages as you have recently experienced
 “ from Great Britain, would have kindled a flame in
 “ your

“ your breast ; when the insidious language of negotiation would have met your scorn and indignation ; and when you would have questioned the disinterestedness of those who would have spoken of forbearance under the pressure of such mighty wrongs. Ye patriots of 76 ! ye heroes of the late revolution ! whither are ye gone ? Shall a paper system hold you in bondage ? Has it extinguished the generous flame which led you to glory ? Has it given you poverty and wretchedness, that you slumber over your wrongs ? Your country calls : the temple which you have erected is in danger of being profaned by sacrilegious Britons ; arouse, then, and support the honour of your name, and the chastity of liberty’s goddess, which speculation and tyranny have brought into danger.

“ This is the moment, fellow-citizens, to act with effect. Your enemy is embarrassed ; the republican heroes of France have struck them with dismay, and tyranny stands aghast. Toulon and Alsace have been your guardians ; and, under the impression which the defeats of the combined tyrants have given, demand a surrender of your posts, and an indemnification for your losses.— Never permit Great Britain to recover from her immediate embarrassments, before you insist upon your rights. Treachery and dishonour mark her councils and her actions ; and if you let the present opportunity escape, the golden moments may be for ever lost. Depend not upon her promises, for she promises but to betray : but while you have the means in your hands, exert them ; and you will be successful.

“ Remember the late revolution, and you will have no dread of her ; let those glorious achievements animate you again to tread the path of honour in the combat against tyranny. The
“ manes

“ manes of the departed heroes of your country call
 “ upon you, the victims of British cruelty and des-
 “ potism; let it not be said that they suffered in
 “ vain. Never let it stain the annals of the world,
 “ that America fought once in defence of liberty,
 “ but that she afterwards meanly bartered away
 “ her birthright for a mess of pottage.”

Extract II.—“ The French have no other alterna-
 “ tive, but to destroy or be destroyed. The gold of
 “ the Emperor, Prussia, Spain, Italy, Sardinia, Hol-
 “ land, and, more than all, that of Great Britain,
 “ has corrupted all flesh that was susceptible of
 “ corruption, which obliges the incorruptible to
 “ adopt amputation, as the only means of self-pre-
 “ servation. We should have done the very same,
 “ had we been as hard pushed as they. Nay, we
 “ do it daily, whenever a limb is mortified, if the
 “ rest can be preserved by the operation. I see no-
 “ thing extraordinary or unnatural in it, but the
 “ transcendent combination of superlative villany
 “ that causes it. Are not houses blown up to stop a
 “ conflagration? Do not persons in a starving con-
 “ dition cast lots who shall die to save the rest? The
 “ very conduct of the despots themselves is on the
 “ same principle; for if they cannot destroy repub-
 “ licanism, they well know that it will destroy them,
 “ or, what is equivalent, their despotism. However,
 “ I expect the guillotine will make the French a
 “ pretty, sound, healthy body, in a little time. I
 “ shall not lament to hear George Rex and his
 “ ministry meeting with the same fate. The world
 “ will never be at peace, depend upon it, whilst
 “ there exists a King who can make war whenever
 “ he pleases.”

Extract III.—“ The Tories of Philadelphia would
 “ consult their own interest extremely, by some
 “ greater attention to the rules of common decency.
 “ If they do not, they may very soon expect a general
 “ sweeping ;

“ *sweeping* ; a measure that has been more than
 “ once proposed already. The insolence of this
 “ despicable faction can be exceeded by nothing but
 “ their *treachery*. It is certain that the infamous
 “ instructions of the 6th of November were known
 “ in this city to *British agents* three weeks before
 “ they were known to *any body else*.”

Extract IV. — “ It is reported that the British
 “ Minister here has received notice from our Go-
 “ vernment that General Wayne should have orders
 “ to oppose any armed force, of whatever nation,
 “ which he might fall in with in his expedition.
 “ These orders, it is said, are to be given in confi-
 “ dence of the truth of the account that Governor
 “ Simcoe has marched three companies into our
 “ territory. This warning is a piece of courtesy
 “ which might well be omitted, at least towards a
 “ nation whose orders to plunder *us* were studiously
 “ kept a secret.”

The last extract I shall give is a parody on the King's speech of the 21st of January, 1794. This most infamous libel appeared in a paper published in the city of Philadelphia by one BACHE, on the 18th of April, 1794 ; and, though it came out under the nose of Congress, and of the English Minister, *no notice was ever taken of it*, no appeal to the law, no complaint ; no, nor even any animadversion in the newspapers ! Great Britain had many *servants* in America, but she seemed not to have a single *friend*. The fate, however, of those who afterwards became her voluntary defenders, shows the *prudence* of those who stood aloof from her.

“ MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

“ The circumstances under which you are assembled require your most serious deliberation.

“ We are engaged in a wanton attack on the
 “ laws, the government, and the existence of a
 “ Republic

“ Republic that contains twenty-seven millions of
 “ people.

“ Every honest man must have observed with
 “ satisfaction that this diabolical combination of
 “ crowned heads has already cost England her mer-
 “ cantile interest, at least ten thousand lives, ten
 “ millions sterling of public money, and her mer-
 “ cantile interest thirty millions sterling of bank-
 “ ruptcies. The poor rates have increased by one
 “ third beyond their former enormous extent, while
 “ the revenues of excise and customs have sunk in a
 “ correspondent proportion. You have been in-
 “ formed by my loving subjects in Scotland, that
 “ within six months after the war against France
 “ began, an hundred and sixty thousand manu-
 “ facturers, in that part of my dominions, including
 “ men, women, and children, were cast out of em-
 “ ployment, and reduced to insolvency, to beggary,
 “ and to famine. In the short period of six weeks,
 “ twelve thousand journeymen weavers and other
 “ subjects of the same rank had the honour of en-
 “ listing in my service for five-pence a day in the
 “ streets of Glasgow. They have since enjoyed the
 “ additional distinction of leaving their wives and
 “ children to expire of hunger, while some thou-
 “ sands of their own carcasses at this moment ferti-
 “ lize the vicinity of Valenciennes, of Toulon, and
 “ of Dunkirk. A pleasing though less compre-
 “ hensive *alacrity for the service* was exhibited at
 “ Manchester, where twelve hundred volunteers
 “ thronged around my recruiting officers in the
 “ course of a single week. Numbers in this town,
 “ as well as in other places, have died of want. My
 “ Secretary, Mr. Dundas, has demonstrated that
 “ ‘ the late bankruptcies are only so many testimo-
 “ nies of *the flourishing state of the nation* :’ and it
 “ must be admitted, that, with regard to this mark

“ of prosperity, my subjects at present eclipse all
 “ other people.

“ My ally Holland has for this time been saved,
 “ by a miracle, from political renovation; but the
 “ Stadtholder is universally despised, and, as far as
 “ such a person is capable of exciting resentment,
 “ he is *almost* universally hated. Two thirds of the
 “ Dutch nation sigh for a revolution: they are
 “ solicitous for an end, but dread the means *that*
 “ *must be employed to accomplish it*. Had any cir-
 “ cumstance been wanting to fill up the measure of
 “ the treachery of the House of Orange, the pre-
 “ sent war, so wantonly begun, and so wretchedly
 “ conducted, affords a durable monument of the
 “ completeness of their guilt. The time cannot be
 “ distant when the Prince and his Prussian consort
 “ shall atone upon the scaffold for the wrongs of his
 “ oppressed country.

“ As to my good ally the King of Sardinia, there
 “ can be no doubt that he will, for any imaginable
 “ space of time, accept with cheerfulness his present
 “ British salary of two hundred thousand pounds
 “ *per annum*, or any larger or smaller sum that *your*
 “ *wisdom* shall think fit for the welfare of my king-
 “ doms to give him.

“ As to his Apostolic Majesty, the Emperor, I
 “ can have no doubt with regard to the sincerity of
 “ his wishes for universal and absolute domination.
 “ He is at present borrowing bullion, where he can
 “ get it, at an interest of eight and an half *per*
 “ *cent*. The war has already cost him two hun-
 “ dred thousand men; and the treasury of Vienna
 “ was exhausted *before it began*. His conquest, it
 “ such it may be called, of Condé and Valen-
 “ ciennes, is an act of the most *disinterested* heroism,
 “ since it is well known, that *he cannot on his own*
 “ *account possibly keep possession of those towns*. The
 “ inhabitants of Austrian Flanders, who are four
 “ millions

“ millions of people, form a body too stubborn, too
 “ well informed, and too vast, to be crushed by any
 “ efforts which Francis can make. If they were
 “ disgusted in the French with the wantonness of
 “ military or democratical insolence, even this
 “ cannot prejudice them in favour of Austrian
 “ despotism. Their submission to the German ty-
 “ rant for the present moment serves only to show
 “ that they are afraid of France. Were it practi-
 “ cable to reduce the whole frontier towns of the
 “ Republic, this would afford an additional motive
 “ to the Flemings for asserting their independence.
 “ In any case they must and will assert it; and the
 “ impertinent and frivolous interposition of the
 “ Court of Vienna, *vainly grasping at the shadow of*
 “ *departed importance*, can only tend to hasten that
 “ disjunction. They already contest with Francis
 “ about the nomination to public offices, while he
 “ absurdly proposes to support a war by voluntary
 “ contributions from a nation that hardly conde-
 “ scend even to dissemble their abhorrence for his
 “ authority. The capture of Condé, therefore, and
 “ of other towns in the same quarter, as it serves to
 “ exhaust the resources of my fellow-conspirators,
 “ at the same time promotes the cause of the great
 “ republic of mankind.

“ The defeat of Wurmser and Brunswick upon
 “ the Rhine, is a step in the progress of that ap-
 “ proaching revolution which will, ere long, restore,
 “ or rather create, the liberties of the German em-
 “ pire.

“ From Toulon we have been driven with dis-
 “ grace, and with such abruptness, that we durst
 “ not even halt long enough to burn the very ships
 “ that we had stolen. A multitude of miscreants,
 “ who had deserted the cause of their country,
 “ have suffered the just recompense of their crimes.
 “ They betrayed France to us; and we, to preserve

“ an uniformity of character, betrayed *them to her*.
 “ We have driven the Republic from her possessions
 “ at Newfoundland; or, in other words, we have
 “ ruined two or three dozen of industrious and
 “ peaceable fishermen. We have thus ‘ maintained
 “ *THE LUSTRE of the British name.*’ It is not even
 “ impossible that we may reduce Martinique, at an
 “ expense of ten times more than its value; and
 “ there is even a chance that we may retain it till a
 “ treaty of peace, if we shall be able to get one.

“ Though we entered into the present conspiracy
 “ in contradiction to every law human and divine,
 “ we, like many other pious people, in a similar
 “ case, have engrafted it on the cause of *religion*.

“ As we are unanimous in a hearty detestation
 “ of the United States of North America, formerly
 “ my rebellious provinces, it is with satisfaction that
 “ I remind you of a malignant fever which, some
 “ months ago, swept away five thousand inhabitants
 “ of Philadelphia. Had this disorder extended and
 “ protracted its ravages to a desirable length of
 “ time, there is every reason to hope, under the
 “ blessing of Divine Providence, that these deluded
 “ people might have seen their error, and solicited
 “ readmission into the bosom of the British constitu-
 “ tion.

“ To accelerate this propitious event, I have,
 “ during many years, excited my allies the savages,
 “ on the frontiers of Canada, to massacre as many
 “ American white women and children as they pos-
 “ sibly can.

“ I have turned the Algerines loose on Ameri-
 “ can commerce; and I have thus incurred the
 “ meanness and guilt of piracy, without feeling
 “ the inducement of plunder, or rising to the repu-
 “ tation of courage. I have seized three hundred
 “ of their vessels in the West Indies; and I learn,
 “ with much satisfaction, that a majority of Con-
 “ gress consider me *as the best of princes*.

“ But

“ But even if they dared to resent my *legal adjudication* of their property, and act like men,
 “ still less the loss of our American trade cannot
 “ ruin more than two or three hundred thousand
 “ of my people. I am farther happy to learn,
 “ that the auspicious system of excise is about to
 “ be commenced in these United States, by a tax
 “ on the manufacture of tobacco. From the
 “ effects in England of *this most arbitrary and impracticable* of all resources, we may safely predict a
 “ correspondent scene of ruin in America.

“ Of the trials by jury, of my seditious subjects,
 “ I have ordered an epitome, in thirty-nine folio
 “ volumes, to be laid before both Houses.

“ You must be sensible as I am, that, in our present state, it seems equally impossible to advance
 “ or retreat without disgrace and destruction. The
 “ French, before two years elapse, will have a
 “ navy superior to that of Britain. The landing
 “ of a republican army in any part of my kingdoms must be succeeded by a national bankruptcy, a convention, a revolution, and a republic. We must have offended the Government
 “ of France too mortally to have the least hope of
 “ pardon.

“ Let us, therefore, in the style of Tyburn, endeavour to die *as hard* as we can :—the more mischief the better.”

[“ Those editors of newspapers in the United States, who have printed the speech of Mr. Guelph, are requested, if convenient, to publish the above sketch.”]

The flame was occasionally fed by *extracts from London papers*, particularly from that most infamous paper the *Morning Chronicle*, with the editor of which the miscreant BACHE was in close correspondence. Articles from the pens of Americans were first published in the *Chronicle*, then republished in America ;

rica ; and, not unfrequently, these articles were sent from America for publication. BACHE was notoriously in the pay of France ; and thus we see the source as well as the channel of these libels. I here insert an article from the *Morning Chronicle*, of the 7th January, 1794, which was copied into BACHE's paper of the 9th of April of the same year :

On the Probability of a War with the United States.

“ SIR,

“ Whatever effect the present violation of the
 “ freedom of the American commerce may have
 “ on the temper of Congress, it is certain, that
 “ the citizens of the United States have been dis-
 “ posed to live in peace with all the world ; that
 “ they were so disposed towards England four
 “ months ago, is unquestionably proved by their
 “ *Declaration of Neutrality*, universally approved of,
 “ and made by their President George Washington,
 “ without any diplomatic application, immediately
 “ on hearing that England had taken a decisive
 “ part in the confederacy of the Kings of Europe,
 “ in which it now seems that the Emperor of Mo-
 “ rocco as heartily concurs against the people of
 “ France ; but whether their disposition to peace
 “ will secure to them the enjoyment of it, may be
 “ doubtful to those who reflect on the crooked
 “ policy of courts ; for though their declaration
 “ may have given much satisfaction to the mercan-
 “ tile part of the kingdom, who are interested more
 “ than ever on account of their commercial distresses
 “ at home and embarrassments abroad, in the unin-
 “ terrupted continuance of their beneficial trade to
 “ America, it is possible that the Minister, who
 “ apparently pays less attention to commerce, and
 “ even to revenue, than to the massacre of every
 “ Frenchman, will pursue such projects, if he has
 “ not

“ not already done it, as to make it necessary for
 “ them, in order to support their independency, as
 “ well as their commerce, to take an active part in
 “ the dreadful scene now exhibiting in Europe.

“ This disposition in the citizens of the United
 “ States results from a conviction that nothing is
 “ wanting to their happiness but to continue in
 “ peace, under their excellent laws and govern-
 “ ment; laws founded on the equality of rights,
 “ and governments administered by the economy
 “ of republicanism. As friends of humanity, so
 “ far from rejoicing in the horrors of war, in any
 “ part of the world, they deprecate them wherever
 “ they may appear, however the folly and wicked-
 “ ness of those who enter into them may serve their
 “ commercial interests for a time. Having felt its
 “ fury in almost its unlimited state, they have ex-
 “ perience enough of its cruelties to know, that it
 “ should not be wantonly and unnecessarily entered
 “ into; and, as citizens, who have an interest in
 “ the freedom and virtue of their governments,
 “ they are as anxious to avoid the crimes and mi-
 “ series of war, as the subjects of monarchies, who,
 “ in this age, being taught to glory in the crimes,
 “ and made to subsist on the miseries of war, are
 “ eager to rush into them.

“ Had the United States been otherwise disposed,
 “ they would, long since, have demanded, in a
 “ peremptory manner, as England would have
 “ done in a like case, the surrender of the back
 “ countries, and the posts constructed thereon,
 “ agreeably to the treaty made between the two
 “ nations: *they would have insisted on the immediate*
 “ *stipulated payment for the negroes and other property*
 “ *taken away from their plantations by the British com-*
 “ *manders; they would have diplomatically remonstrated*
 “ *against the measures which, they are convinced, have*
 “ *been made use of to stir up the savages against them*
 “ by

“ by Bowles and others, calling themselves Agents of
 “ England ; the selfish system which Great Britain has
 “ adopted in her West Indian commerce would have
 “ been amply retaliated ; the seizure of the French
 “ islands, which the United States have guarantied
 “ to France, would have been resented ; and the delay
 “ of the courts of law, amounting, they think, to a
 “ denial of justice, in determining their legal claims on
 “ British subjects, would have been nationally com-
 “ plained of, and nationally corrected by means fully in
 “ their power.

“ The United States, not having yet solemnly de-
 “ manded redress of those grievances, which no one
 “ can deny would have roused the spirit of English-
 “ men with far more reason than did the affairs of
 “ Nootka Sound or Oczakow, proves their disposition
 “ to live on an amicable footing with this country.

“ How long, however, *the citizens of America may be*
 “ *able to act with this forbearance, cannot now be deter-*
 “ *mined* ; the Minister of England seems to be trying
 “ their patience to the utmost, as shall be shown,
 “ with your leave, Sir, in another address.”

This false and impudent statement, having been made use of to gull the silly people of England, was, as we have seen, next played off upon those of America ; and thus these hireling printers bandied backwards and forward the means of deception, and of serving their masters.

The Congress itself appeared to be the dupe of these wretched understrappers of France ; for it very soon assumed the language, and entered into all the views, even in detail, of the Morning Chronicle. But the people, that is to say, the noisy part of them, carried their violence to even a ridiculous extreme. They bawled, they remonstrated, they cursed, they were dancing mad.

The Congress, who were now obliged to do *something*, resolved to lay an embargo. On the 27th of
 March

March they passed a law for prohibiting all trade from the United States to any foreign port or place for a term not exceeding thirty days; and authorizing the President of the United States to give the necessary directions to the officers of the revenue, to carry this resolution into effect.

The duration of the embargo was afterwards lengthened; and when the Houses broke up in June, they empowered the President to continue the embargo, from time to time, as long as he should judge it expedient.

In the mean time the French faction were busy in obtaining remonstrances *against the forbearance of the Government, with respect to Great Britain*. The town meetings were in continual session. The whole country rang with execrations against England, whose friends dared not openly espouse her cause. There was no more liberty of the press in Philadelphia, than there was in Paris, unless it were employed in abusing England, her King and her Government*.

Thus backed, the French faction might easily have carried the *resolutions proposed by Madison*; but these would not now satisfy them. Mere *commercial discriminations* against England were nothing, when they thought they should be able to procure a declaration of war against her in a few weeks. They were too sanguine. Their eagerness defeated their project.

The first hostile measure was proposed on the 27th of March, by DAYTON, in the House of Representatives, who brought forward a resolution *for seques-*

* In reviving the circumstances of the rebel war, *truth* now and then made its appearance. In one instance it came out in the form of an epigram, thus:

“ When mighty CÆSAR triumphs o’er his foes,
 “ Three words concise his gallant acts disclose;
 “ But HOWE, more brief, comprises his in one,
 “ And *vidi*, tells us all that he has done.”

trating all British property *. This debate I shall insert at some length.

“ In Committee of the whole on the following Resolutions, proposed by Mr. DAYTON ;

“ RESOLVED,

“ That provision ought to be made by law for the sequestration of all the debts due from the citizens of the United States to the subjects of the King of Great Britain.

“ RESOLVED,

“ That provision ought in like manner to be made for securing the payment of all such debts into the treasury of the United States, there to be held as a pledge for the indemnification of such of the citizens of the said States as shall have suffered from the ships of war, privateers, or from any person or description of persons acting under the commission or authority of the British King, in contravention of the laws of nations, and in violation of the rights of neutrality.

“ Mr. DAYTON first rose in support of his propositions. When he brought them forward, he did not accompany them with many observations, because he was then labouring under indisposition. The same cause would render him very concise now.

* *Fabricated news* was always a potent engine with the French faction, who, when they wished to carry any point of importance, never failed to contrive that such news should come as would make the people believe that Great Britain was upon the brink of destruction. Accordingly, just at the time that Dayton brought forward his swindling resolution, the following article appeared in the newspapers :

“ A vessel is arrived at Norfolk from Falmouth, bringing an account of a naval engagement between the French and English, in which the former were victorious, with the total loss of two vessels, *after sinking eight of the enemy's.*”

To speak within compass, ten thousand lies, full as glaring as this, were circulated through the American papers in the course of the three first years of the war.

“ The

“ The injuries and insults we have suffered from Great Britain, he conceived, need not be dwelt upon ; they are well known ; and it is universally acknowledged, that we ought to adopt such measures as would screen us from a repetition of them, and secure to us reparation. The resolutions he had brought forward he intended as part of that system of defence and preservation, other portions of which had already received the sanction of the House. These resolutions, he conceived, would not be the least efficient part of that system.

“ He believed that when the conduct of Great Britain is reviewed, it would be found that it is treating their subjects with great lenity to speak of sequestration only ; we should be warranted in confiscating ; for they have subjected our property to condemnation, without an appearance of an intention to indemnify.

“ As to restitution of the property of which we have been plundered on the high seas, it is impossible. It is condemned, sold, and scattered, and no hope can be entertained that they intend to indemnify our suffering citizens. If it had been their intention to indemnify, their court, in explanation of the instructions of the 6th of November, would not have given orders to condemn vessels detained in suspense in the West Indies until that elucidation was received.

“ Since, then, restitution is impossible, and not a shadow of hope exists that indemnification will be granted, we have only to determine whether we shall give up the property of which we have been plundered, or claim it with effect ; claim it, and enforce the claim, by showing that we have the means of retaliation within our power.

“ After the proceedings of the British towards us, he believed we should have been warranted in confiscating the property now proposed to be sequestered, without negotiation. This would have been meeting

ting to them as they meted to us. If sequestration is hostility, as he had heard it called, what, he asked, is condemnation? Besides, they have impressed American citizens into their service. We have reason to believe, he concluded by remarking, from the negotiation of our Minister with Lord Grenville, from private information on the table, of Congress, and from the conduct of some of their officers high in command, that to make war on us is part of their system.

“ Mr. SAMUEL SMITH said he always had wished for peace, as the first desideratum. With this view, agreeable to the wise recommendation of the President, he agreed to those measures calculated to put the country in a posture of defence. This was the best mode of securing peace. With the same view he proposed an embargo to be laid, which would have drawn to our ports the remainder of our maritime possessions, and have left them no longer within the grasp of a nation whose only rule of right is the measure of her power. He still wished, as long as a shadow of hope exists, to secure the blessings of peace. With the resolutions now offered, he was of opinion that we might yet have peace; but without them we shall certainly have war. They will arrest twenty millions of dollars in our hands, as a fund to reimburse the three or four millions which we have been stript of by that piratical nation Great Britain, according to the instruction of that King of sea-robbers, that Leviathan which aims at swallowing all that floats on the ocean, that monster whose only law is power, and who neither respects the rights of nations nor the property of individuals. This character the nation he had mentioned had long deserved; many proofs might be cited in support of the assertion; he would only refer to their conduct at St. Eustatia, when they robbed their allies the Dutch, and their Generals and Admirals turned vendue-masters

ters, and conducted the plundering, to collect rewards for their exploits. Is it from such a nation, he asked, that we are to hope for justice? They know not what justice is. It is said, that they showed their love of justice, when they so liberally compensated the Tories after their war with us. Though they despise traitors, yet self-interest will lead them to reward the treachery, to encourage a principle which may again be useful to them: self-interest then, and not justice, actuated them on that, as on every other occasion.

“ Let us pass the resolutions, then send an Envoy to Great Britain, and we shall have peace. We shall then be able to speak to them of their interest. But if war should be the inevitable issue, Americans, he was sure, would meet it like men, rather than submit to insult, and suffer the honour of the country to be prostrated. If we were able, while in infancy as a nation, to assert our rights, will it be said, that now we have arrived at a state of manhood we shall fear them? No! Our young men burn for an opportunity to defend the liberty, rights, and property of their country. They will step out as one, and meet the event like men.

“ He read a quotation from VATEL, to show that a nation has a right to pay her citizens for losses inflicted by another nation contrary to right, by confiscating the property belonging to the citizens of that nation. The tie of interest, he concluded by remarking, is the strongest tie we have upon Great Britain. Let us pass the resolution, and that nation will never again give us cause to pass a similar one. The people out of doors will say that we have done right. The nations of Europe will rejoice to see this power which is committing depredations on all nations, humbled. The resolutions, he observed, do not regard the property in the funds: to touch this is not
one

one of the means of retaliation warranted by the law of nations : public contracts should be sacred.

“ Mr. BOUDINOT said he had not intended to take part in the debate at this early stage of it : but what had fallen from the member last up, convinced him that the House should not go into a consideration of the subject at this time. It should be considered with coolness, and all passions put out of the question.

“ No doubt we have a right to make reprisals, as the Legislature has a right to declare war ; but he doubted whether the United States, in their present situation, would find it their interest to go into such measures. The authority read from VATEL, by the member last up, he observed, made against that member's opinion. VATEL expressly says, that reprisals should not be made on property intrusted to public faith. The debts of British subjects here are in that predicament. He had heard that Gentleman not long since with pleasure expatiate with warmth on the advantages of credit especially to this country. Should that credit be destroyed, he asked, by destroying the confidence of foreigners in our faith ? But even if this retaliation be lawful, will it be the interest of the citizens, or rather of the Government, to take such a step at the present time ? We have no doubt been cruelly treated ; but have we made proper application for redress, and received an answer ? We should first send a special Envoy, and insist on an immediate answer : this would be the mode of securing peace, at least it offers the best chance of securing it.

“ The aggressions on our commerce made by Great Britain are, no doubt, enough to rouse any American's feelings ; but the Legislature ought not to be swayed by passion, they should discuss the subject calmly and deliberately. He hoped the Committee would rise, and allow time, at least to take the necessary

fary measures of defence ; for could the Legislature justify to their constituents this step of retaliation, should immediate hostilities, warlike hostilities, be the consequence ? To justify a measure of this kind, time should be given for the defensive system adopted to be carried into operation.

“ Mr. MERCER next spoke. He owned the measures proposed appeared to him great and momentous, and, had he any powers of declamation, he should think it improper to give loose to them on a question of this kind. We should weigh well our interest, examine carefully the situation in which we stand, and determine calmly where we shall place our next step. The proposition is to arrest, not confiscate, the debts due to British subjects. From his recollection of the positions established by the best jurisprudential writers, no doubt remained in his mind that we have a clear right to secure to ourselves reparation in that way ; and in our predicament, confiscation even would be warranted, and be a point as firmly established as any principle which has the general practice of nations for a basis. One of the latest, Binkershoek, is of opinion that debts are property as well as any thing else, and sees no reason why they should not as well as other kinds of property be seized to secure indemnity for injuries. This is the opinion of Wolfius, of Vattel, Grotius, and of his commentator. He could go on, he said, with a long list of authorities, and refer to actual treaties to show that it has been the practice of nations. Having established the right, he proceeded to consider the expediency of the propositions. Gentlemen, he hoped, did not wish that we should make a solemn declaration of war before we acted. This is no longer the custom among nations ; it would be a pompous display of candour which no longer exists. Has any nation in the present European war premised their operations by a declaration ? No ; their first step

was

was to do all the injury in their power to their enemies. Then we, having taken what steps will best tend to our security, and give us the best hold of our enemy, let us not, however, lose sight of a settlement by negotiation; let us show mankind that peace is our first wish.

“ When we are thus prepared, let us step forward to an amicable negotiation; let us call on the Executive to send forward some proper person to the Court of Great Britain, to assure them that we have a high sense of the injury done us, that we have it in our power to resent it, but wish to see the difference settled by receiving an indemnification. We shall thus make it their interest as well as duty to allow it.

“ This he conceived to be the line of conduct we should adopt if we wished to preserve the western hemisphere from the scourges that desolate the old world. By some such measure as that proposed we should make their motives for peace more weighty, and we should give assurances of our amicable disposition, by showing that all we wish is a just compensation.

“ In a business of this kind he was sensible of the danger of precipitation; the best mode of arresting the property proposed, should be calmly weighed. He believed that something like the proposition made by Mr. Smith (S. C.), before the House resolved itself into a Committee, a stop to all transfers of British property, would be proper as a preliminary step.

“ He concluded with some observations on the respect which nations, however weak, will command from their superiors in strength by showing that they will not suffer imposition, by joining heart and hand in defence of their rights. This spirit, he was sure, animates Americans, and now their power is better able to keep pace with that spirit than when we humbled that nation. At that time we were in our infancy,

fancy, an infancy by no means thriving under the trammels of the mother-country: and when they turned us adrift, and began their hostile spoliations, they carried with them all our means of defence; but now, thank Providence, we have spirit and power to defend ourselves. If the Gentleman from South Carolina, he said, would modify his proposition, and make the term thirty days, it should have his assent in preference to that now before the Committee.

“ Mr. WILLIAM SMITH said, that the proposition he had read before the House went into Committee, was in the nature of an embargo on debts, securing them from transfer until the necessity of sequestering them more plainly appeared. The proposition did not then appear to meet the wishes of the House. When the Committee should rise, then, he said, he would again bring it forward. The question now before the Committee is, whether they should agree to a sequestration of British debts. He wished this object had not been coupled with the indemnification to our own citizens, because it is fairer to decide each question upon its own merits. That part of the resolutions which contemplates an indemnification may give a weight to the first part, which it might not intrinsically deserve.

“ He made some observations on the propriety of cool deliberation on the present important subject. The passions should be banished, and calm reason more than ever courted. It requires all the wisdom of the legislative body now to combine our national honour with our national safety. He had doubts on the propriety of the resolutions proposed, but acknowledged that the arguments used in their favour had great weight in his mind. If the situation of this country be compared with that of other commercial nations, the propriety of something like the present resolutions would appear more evident. When other

commercial nations wish to quarrel with us, their navy enables them to seize our vessels, and we cannot retaliate in the same way. Then we must fly to such means of retaliation as are in our power. If they take our property of one description, and we cannot lay our hands upon the same kind, we must take any of theirs within our reach. This reasoning has, no doubt, great force ; but the sacredness with which the modern usage of nations has shielded debts, is a great bar to our proceeding in the present case. Contracts between individuals are now considered as out of the reach of Governments, and it is the modern usage not to meddle with them. In the beginning of our late war debts were not confiscated. The State of South Carolina, though certainly not wanting provocation, while confiscating all other property, left debts untouched, under the idea that private contracts are sacred.

“ All this, in a case of war and urgent necessity, might be overlooked : but if we are not in a state of war, perhaps meddling with private contracts might provoke it. Credit is certainly important to this country ; we should consider how far the operation of the resolutions proposed, would give a shock to it. Besides, they might have a tendency to involve us in future wars. We shall yet long be under the necessity of receiving certain supplies from Europe, and shall have debtors among us, for those supplies. These debtors may at any time, when the burden weighs heavy, think of easing it, by fomenting dissensions with the foreign creditor nation, in expectation that a confiscation of the debts may be an effect. It is true, that in such a case they will not be exonerated ; but it cannot be supposed that the Government to whom the debts would be transferred, could prosecute the recovery of them, with as much ardour as an individual.

“ The

“ The Gentleman last up had relied on the authority of ancient and foreign jurists. Some among this class of writers, warrant putting prisoners to death ; a principle which modern custom had put a stop to. They also, it is true, warrant the confiscation of debts ; but Burlamaqui says, this is not the practice of modern nations. None, or very few trifling examples can be cited, he believed, of a departure from this principle in modern times, among nations where commerce is cherished. This country depends on commerce, and credit is one of the means by which it flourishes ; we should, then, not endeavour to weaken it.

“ If we are once over the barrier, by trifling extensions of the principle, we may be carried to immoderate lengths indeed. Some persons who were in favour of sequestering private debts, spoke with horror of touching the public funds ; for his part, he did not see much difference between confiscating private or public debts ; the object is the injury of an enemy, and to retaliate for injuries. Again, if we go to war with Great Britain, it is probable we shall be involved with her allies : then will it be said, that we shall confiscate what the Dutch lent us, at a time of distress or since the peace ? The Dutch have bought largely in our funds : the same principle will lead us to lay our hands upon that property. It will be difficult to draw a line, if we admit the principle.

“ Under these impressions, if called upon to give his vote, he should now feel, he said, much embarrassment. It had been said, that the adoption of the present resolution would be a mean of obliging Great Britain to do us justice ; that it would strike a terror among the subjects of that country, and make them clamorous for peace. It might, he feared, have a very different effect, exasperate them, and unite the people with the Government against us.

Some further forbearance on our part, may separate them : it will convince the people of Great Britain, that we really wish for peace ; and then if war is the issue, the impressiion will be severely felt by that Government. We shall render the Administration very unpopular, and hasten its dismissal, for one more friendly to this country. He was of opinion, this crisis was fast approaching.

“ He concluded by again adverting to his propositions for preventing the transfer of British debts, which he hoped would be considered as a sufficient provision in the present exigency, and would give time to deliberate on further measures, and to watch the course of events in Europe, which he believed would have great influence upon the conduct of Great Britain towards us, and *probably bring forward the change in the Administration of Great Britain!!!*

This resolution was carried by a great majority in the Lower House; but it having been rejected by the Senate, a measure still more violent was proposed by the Representatives.

CLARKE, of New-Jersey, moved a resolution in these terms :

“ RESOLVED,

“ That until the Government of Great Britain
 “ shall cause restitution to be made for all losses and
 “ damages sustained by the citizens of the United
 “ States from armed vessels, or from any person or
 “ persons acting under commission or authority of
 “ the British King, contrary to the laws of nations,
 “ and in violation of the rights of neutrality ; and
 “ also until all the posts now held and detained by
 “ the King of Great Britain, within the territories
 “ of the United States, shall be surrendered and
 “ given up, all commercial intercourse between the
 “ citizens of the United States, and the subjects of
 “ the King of Great Britain, so far as the same respects
 “ articles of the growth or manufactures of Great
 “ Britain

“ Britain or Ireland, shall be prohibited : provided
 “ such prohibition shall not extend to vessels or
 “ their cargoes arriving in any of the ports of the
 “ United States before the day of
 “ next.”

This resolution embraced the old dispute, as well as the new one, and would have amounted, indeed, if it had passed into a law, to a declaration of war against England, which the President and Senate were resolved not to sanction. It was, however, become absolutely necessary for the Executive to take part with the Representatives, or to put a stop to their violent proceedings, which were daily gaining partisans to the cause of France.

The first thing the President did was to lay before the two Houses a Report on the insults and injuries which America had received from *all* the belligerent nations.

REPORT.

SIR,

In your message to both Houses of Congress, on the 5th of December, 1793, you inform them, that “ The vexations and spoliations, understood to have been committed on our vessels and commerce, by the cruisers and officers of some of the belligerent powers, appeared to require attention :” that “ the proofs of these, however, not having been brought forward, the description of citizens, supposed to have suffered, were notified, that, on furnishing them to the Executive, due measures would be taken to obtain redress of the past, and more effectual provisions against the future ;” and that, “ should such documents be furnished, proper representations will be made thereon, with a just reliance on a redress proportioned to the exigency of the case.”

On my succession to the Department of State, I found a large volume of complaints, which the notification had collected, against severities on our
 trade,

trade, various in their kind and degree. Having reason to presume, as the fact has proved, that every day would increase the catalogue, I have waited to digest the mass, until time should have been allowed for exhibiting the diversified forms in which our commerce has hourly suffered. Every information is at length obtained, which may be expected.

The sensations excited by the embarrassments, danger, and even ruin, which threatened our trade, cannot be better expressed, than in the words of the Committee of Philadelphia. After enumerating particular instances of injury, their representation to Government proceeds thus: "On these cases, which are accompanied by the legal proofs, the Committee think it unnecessary to enlarge, as the inference will, of course, occur to the Secretary; but they beg leave to be permitted to state other circumstances, which, though not in legal proof, are either of such public notoriety, as to render legal proof unnecessary, or so vouched to the Committee as to leave them in no doubt of the truth of them.

"It has become a practice for many of the privateers of the belligerent powers, to send into port all American vessels they meet with, bound from any of the French ports in the West Indies, to the United States; and it is positively asserted, that the owners of some of them have given general instructions to their captains to that effect: and though many of those vessels have been afterwards liberated, yet the loss by plunder, detention, and expense, is so great as to render it ruinous to the American owner. In many cases, where the cargoes have been valuable, the owners of the privateers, after acquittal, have lodged appeals which they never intended to prosecute, but merely with a view of getting the property into their hands upon a valuation made so unfairly, as to ensure them a considerable profit, even if they should be finally made liable.

"Fourteen

“ Fourteen days only are allowed to an American owner to make his claim, which renders it impossible for him, except he is on the spot ; and every difficulty which a combination of interested persons can devise, is thrown in the way, to prevent his getting security ; and in few instances can it be done, but by making over his vessel and cargo to the securities, and thereby subjecting himself to the heavy additional charge of commission, insurance, &c. It may be added, that the most barefaced bribery is sometimes practised to prevail on unwary boys, or those who know little of the obligations of an oath, to induce them to give testimony in favour of the captors.

“ Beside the cases here enumerated, the Committee have information of a number of vessels belonging to this port, being captured and carried into different ports ; but as the legal proofs are not come forward, they forbear to mention them.

“ It is proper, however, for them to add, that, besides the loss of property occasioned by those unjust captures and detentions, the masters and crews of the vessels are frequently subjected to insults and outrages, that must be shocking to Americans. Of this, the case of Captain Wallace is an instance.— There are others within the knowledge of the Committee, of which they only wait the legal proof, to lay them before the Secretary.

“ To this list of grievances, the Committee are sorry to find it their duty to add, that by reason of the vexation, loss, and outrages suffered by the merchants of the United States, its commerce already begins to languish, and its products are likely to be left upon the hands of those who raise them. Prudent men doubt the propriety of hazarding their property, when they find that the strictest conformity with the laws of nations, or of their own country, will not protect them from the rapacity of men, who are neither restrained by the principles of honour,

nor by laws sufficiently coercive to give security to those who are not subjects of the same government.

“ The Committee conclude this representation, with an assurance, that they have, in no degree, exaggerated in the statement. They will continue to communicate all such information as they can further receive ; of which nature, before the closing of this Report, they are sorry to add, is that of the irruptions of the Algerines from the Mediterranean, in consequence of a truce concluded with that Regency, it is said, by the British Minister, on behalf of Portugal and Holland. This alarming event, to which some American ships, we hear, have already become victims, is of so distressing a nature, as must soon deprive us of some of the most lucrative branches of our commerce, if not speedily checked or prevented. The immediate rise it has produced in insurance, and the fears it may instil into our seamen and commanders, are of a nature highly deserving the serious consideration of Government, on whose protection and zeal for the interests, commercial and agricultural, of the country, the Committee implicitly rely.”

In a supplementary letter, the Committee of Philadelphia made this conclusion, “ that the cases which they recite, and others less formally announced, serve to show, that there are frequent instances of suppression of papers, registers, &c. very prejudicial to our shipping on their trials, and of injuries by the destruction of letters, to the general correspondence of the country with foreign nations.”

When we examine the documents, which have been transmitted from different parts of the Union, we find the British, the French, the Spaniards, and the Dutch, charged with attacks upon our commerce.

It is urged against the British,

i. That their privateers plunder the American vessels, throw them out of their course, by forcing them, upon groundless suspicion, into ports other than those to which they were destined, detain them
even

even after the hope of a regular confiscation is abandoned by their negligence, while they hold the possession, expose the cargoes to damage, and the vessels to destruction, and maltreat their crews.

2. That British ships of war have forcibly seized mariners belonging to American vessels, and in one instance under the protection of a Portuguese fort.

3. That by British regulations and practice, our corn provisions are driven from the ports of France, and restricted to the ports of the British, or those of their friends.

4. That our vessels are not permitted to go from the British ports in the islands without giving security (which is not attainable but with difficulty and expense) for the discharge of the cargo in some other British or neutral port.

5. That without the imputation of a contraband trade, as defined by the law of nations, our vessels are captured for carrying on commercial intercourse with the French West Indies; although it is tolerated by the laws of the French Republic, and that, for this extraordinary conduct, no other excuse is alleged, than that, by some edict of a King of France, this intercourse was prohibited; and,

6. That the conduct of the admiralty in the British islands is impeachable, from an excess of rigour, and a departure from strict judicial purity; and the expenses of an appeal to England, too heavy to be encountered under all these circumstances of discouragement.

Against the French it is urged,

1. That their privateers harass our trade no less than those of the British.

2. That two of their ships of war have committed enormities on our vessels.

3. That their courts of admiralty are guilty of equal oppression.

4. That besides these points of accusation, which are common to the French and British, the former have

have infringed the treaty between the United States and them, by subjecting to seizure and condemnation our vessels trading with their enemies in merchandise which that treaty declares not to be contraband, and under circumstances not forbidden by the law of nations.

5. That a very detrimental embargo has been laid upon large numbers of American vessels in the French ports ; and,

6. That a contract with the French Government for coin has been discharged in depreciated assignats.

Against the Spaniards the outrages of privateers are urged ;

And against the Dutch, one condemnation in the admiralty is insisted to be unwarrantable.

Under this complication of mischief which persecutes our commerce, I beg leave, Sir, to submit to your consideration, whether representations, as far as facts may justify, ought not to be immediately pressed upon the foreign Governments, in those of the preceding cases for which they are responsible.

Among these I class, 1. The violence perpetrated by public ships of war ; 2. Prohibitions, or regulations inconsistent with the law of nations ; 3. The improper conduct of courts ; 4. Infractions of treaty ; 5. The imposition of embargoes ; and, 6. The breach of public contracts. How far a Government is liable to redress the rapine of privateers, depends upon the peculiarities of the case. It is incumbent upon it, however, to keep its courts freely open, and to secure an impartial hearing to the injured applicants. If the rules prescribed to privateers be too loose, and opportunities of plunder or ill treatment be provoked from that cause, or from the prospect of impunity, it is impossible to be too strenuous in remonstrating against this formidable evil.

Thus, Sir, I have reduced to general heads the particular complaints, without making any inquiry

into the facts beyond the allegations of the parties interested.

I will only add, that your message seems to promise to Congress some statement upon these subjects.

I have the honour, Sir, to be, with the highest respect, your obedient servant,

*The President of the
United States.*

ED. RANDOLPH.

This Report furnished the friends of peace, and of the Federal Government, weapons wherewith to ward off the assaults of their enemies; for it now appeared that the spoliations of France were *as great*, at least, as those of England; and that, therefore, if those spoliations would justify violent measures towards the latter, they would also justify such measures towards the former.

Nevertheless, the French faction, having all the noisy part of the people on their side, proceeded with the resolution of CLARKE, and seemed resolved to force it into a law at all events. General Washington, who was a much greater politician than he was a general, seeing that there was but one way left of getting out of the difficulty, had recourse to it. It required *firmness*; but in that he was not deficient.—He made all his preparations for a plausible pretext for his conduct; and, at the very moment when the French faction were urging the adoption of Clarke's resolution, they, to their utter confusion, were informed that the President and Senate *had appointed* MR. JAY *Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of London!*

This was a master-stroke of policy; it so completely united firmness with moderation, that it could not fail of a proper effect amongst the people, while it ~~ruined~~ *ruined* all the hopes of the French faction. These miscreants did, however, proceed in urging the adoption of the hostile resolution of Clarke, and succeeded in carrying it, by a great majority, in the
Lower

Lower House of Congress; but the Senate, who had now the best possible excuse for refusing their sanction of it, threw it out, without hesitation.

In favour of the measure it was urged, that the conduct of Great Britain had not been of a doubtful nature, and was so injurious, that it warranted retaliation, and had no claim to a lenient conduct from America: that the idea of restraining from retaliation, for fear of irritating a nation which had injured and degraded America without provocation, was debasing indeed: that though war was to be deprecated, yet, if Great Britain was at war with America, she could not injure her more than she had done of late. America had nothing to expect from English justice. Their insolence was grounded on an idea of American pusillanimity; and rejecting the measure, would strengthen that idea: hence the greater necessity for agreeing to the resolution.

Negotiation was relied upon as the road to restitution. We have, said the French faction, ever negotiated—in vain. Why shall an extraordinary Minister be more successful than our Minister now at the Court of St. James's? But if every additional insult lays on us an additional obligation to negotiate, Great Britain has only to pursue the line of injury she has adopted, to baffle all our attempts to do ourselves justice.

It is said we should now negotiate; and if we do not succeed, then the measure may be adopted; but, before that time, Great Britain may be possessed of our whole strength, by continuing to capture our merchantmen, and then we shall in vain attempt to resist.

Those against the general tendency of the measure argue, that Great Britain could still flourish without American commerce; that it would lead to war, because Great Britain will deem it insolent to state *sine qua non* conditions to a restoration of intercourse with her.

her. Their opinion of our weakness, said the friends of peace, and their own haughtiness, will lead them to spurn at the insult. We should negotiate amicably, and not irritate; the measure will injure us most: we shall severely feel the want of British manufactures. The instructions of the 8th of January are a disavowal of the construction put on those of the 6th of November, by the courts in the West Indies; by this they fairly open a door to negotiation. We do not yet know what effect the knowledge of the treatment we have received in the West Indies has had in London. We are not to suppose that their construction of the orders of the 6th of November will be thereby changed; but must naturally expect, that, in the spirit of that construction, we shall receive compensation; at least the road to negotiation is open, and will most probably lead us to peace, and restitution for our losses. If in this we do not succeed, then energetic measures will be proper.

As to the old disagreement about the posts, it should not now be brought forward. They hold, and intend to hold the posts, because they conceived we broke the treaty first. Under this impression, what effect can the menace, proposed to be held out, have?—only to exasperate. The loss of property, by suspension of our intercourse with Great Britain, will be much greater than any advantage we can derive, by a restoration of the posts or property carried off at the peace. Even if Great Britain should be willing to conciliate and comply with most of our demands, yet the least refusal upon the ground of this measure will be a bar to peace; but, by fair negotiation, we can obtain the best terms.

The measure was also opposed, because the friends of it considered it as leading to sequestration, a measure immoral and unjust. It is an encroachment on the constitutional power of the Executive to negotiate.

negotiate. The measure leads to war, and we are not prepared for it.

When the Senate rejected the measure; when it was found that MR. JAY was to be the negotiator, and that there remained no hopes of involving the United States in the war, on the side of France, the Gallic faction were seized with a mixture of madness and despair.

“ Now,” said one of their essayists, “ it has become a question, whether Congress is necessary, or of any utility to this country? To cast a retrospective eye at the present session, it would appear as if the six dollars a day were more an object of calculation than the interests of the people—To take a view of the executive conduct, it would seem as if he considered a legislative body a dead weight upon the Government, and was resolved to obstruct its operations by diplomatic appointments. Perhaps it would correspond more with the wishes of the Executive and its satellites, if Congress was to adjourn *sine die*, and leave all to them. Indeed, from what has already happened, it would be a saving to the United States for Congress to dissolve immediately; for as long as the vigour of the present combination continues, so long will legislative functions be unnecessary, unless for the express purpose of devoting their deliberations to the interests of the knights of the funding system. The present governmental opinion is, that the people are not entitled to consideration, that their voice ought not to influence, and that their feelings ought not to make any impression on the Legislature! Would the Senate have dared to reject the bill which contains the means of rendering justice and retribution to the United States, for the insults and aggressions sustained from Great Britain, if the people were not viewed by them, in the language of their brother Burke, as the swinish multitude?”

“ What

“ What complexion does this conduct bear ? Perhaps the suggestion would not be wide of the truth, which said, that to sever the connexion between this country and Great Britain would be the stroke of death to an aristocratical faction ; and that, to avoid this, the bill from the House of Representatives was rejected, and a Chief Justice was appointed to negotiate. If the Western Posts are not to be the price of this negotiation, that a pretext may be kept up for having a Minister of War and a military establishment, it will be a pleasing disappointment to many, who view the violation of order and constitution in this appointment with pain and with horror.”

“ The President,” said another, “ not content with annihilating the people, wishes also to annihilate the obligations of a treaty—the price of our liberties. Faithless, unprincipled, and aristocratical moderatist, who would offer up the liberties of thy fellow-citizens on the altar of Administration, and the sacred obligations of our country, though perhaps not thine, on the altar of treachery and dishonour !

“ How long is this to be borne with ? How long are we to submit to the exertions of a set of people among us, who wish to prostrate us at the feet of Great Britain, and barter away every thing freemen hold dear ? Is there not one propitious gale to kindle the expiring embers of liberty again to consume its conspirators ? Disguised moderatists, beware !—freemen are slow to anger ; but, when roused, moderation and forbearance may forsake them.”

In order, however, to disarm the French faction of the means of annoyance, with which they were furnished in the appointment of MR. JAY as Envoy to England, he being a known enemy of France, the President appointed, as Envoy to France, MR. MONROE, who was known to be a most violent and implacable

implacable enemy to England. Never was any thing better managed. The President obtained a complete triumph, and the Gallic faction received a check, which they did not recover for a long time.

Nor was the triumph of the President confined to the defeat of the war-project. The French faction, hoping to direct all the resources of the Federal Government against Great Britain, had, during the session, aided and assisted in augmenting those resources. A law was passed for organizing, and holding in readiness to march, at the orders of the President, a select body of the militia of the several States, amounting to *eighty thousand men*; the regular army was augmented; appropriations were made for arms, accoutrements, ammunition, and camp equipage; for fortifying the harbours and ports; for fitting out galleys, and for building and fitting out frigates and other ships of war. The French faction, while they were eager for war with England, urged the payment to the Republic, of the debt due to the French King. The President and Senate consented; but, at the same time, they took care to obtain more than a compensation from their enemies. Several direct taxes were laid; the Treasury was replenished; new stock was funded; and, in short, this session, which, at one time, threatened the existence of the Federal Government, added more to its strength, than all the preceding sessions since its establishment*.

* For the sequel of the dispute with Great Britain, see *Popular Proceedings*, &c. vol. ii. p. 233; also, *British Treaty*, vol. ii. p. 345; also, *Proceedings*, &c. vol. ii. p. 273; also, *A Little plain English*, &c. vol. ii. p. 281; also, *Analysis*, &c. vol. ii. p. 369.



